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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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LOOKING BACK ON 1980: FRANCOPHONE AFRICA'S YEAR OF CHANGE

London WEST AFRICA in English 5 Jan 81 pp 10, 11, 12

[Article by Alex Rondos]

[Text] TO TAKE more than a dozen countries, whose most obvious point of common reference is the use of French as an official language for the purposes of an annual review of events is a little extravagant. Some articles in the last few months have shown that there is a sense of identity among these countries that are former French colonies, however, and this year was their twentieth anniversary of independence — or, as one is ultimately led to conclude, of *soi-disant* independence.

A series of events in the course of the year has, however, pushed into the limelight some of the more pertinent issues that have dominated the course of development in these countries in the last two decades. The tentative conclusions that one draws scarcely encourage optimism.

One area of activity is best summed up by the words, from my private correspondence, written by a friend who had every reason to be concerned and interested in the events in Ivory Coast. Reluctant to write at length any views on the Party Congress and the subsequent elections in Ivory Coast that took part in the latter half of the year, the letter restricted itself to this very pertinent observation: "... *La liberté ne se décrète pas; elle est un besoin profond des populations 'bénéficiaires', ou elle n'est pas.*" This may be translated as: "liberty cannot be decreed; it is a profound need of the populations who 'benefit', or it is not." Many a university examiner could use that comment as a question for discussion.

Nevertheless, in Ivory Coast, Senegal, Upper Volta, Mali there have been fairly dramatic manifestations of the appreciation of the need to modify, sometimes radically, the structure of political power and its

practice. In Ivory Coast, President Houphouët-Boigny has managed to accumulate more constitutional power around him. Yet this was meant to be the year of "change in stability". Some might say that this is a temporary move which will give him the ability to dispose more freely of the fruits of power and liberalisation and to bypass the "barons". If this is so, it is an unfortunate reflection on the system that depends so heavily on one personality to dictate its destiny. It augurs ill for the post-Houphouët era. There has been a rejuvenation in the political cadres. There is little evidence so far of a translation of that rejuvenation into the field of political decision-making. The President has not helped matters by contradicting his statements of a few weeks earlier, when he seemed intent on dispensing, once and for all, with the question of his succession. After the Congress he merely said that there would be a "team" which would see to the transfer of power. A few weeks later, in early December, everyone was surprised to discover that suddenly the National Assembly had voted to amend the Constitution and to create an office of Vice-President — who will be chosen by President Houphouët-Boigny who claims the right to do this, since the elections have taken place and he has the people's mandate.

But to pretend that in all these countries which have experienced political turmoil there is no relation to the structure of the economy would be unrealistic. In Ivory Coast, the study has yet to be made which reveals the relationship between power and economic interest. What evidence there is suggests that such a correlation exists in a remarkably systematic manner. It is done

very discreetly however; regional origins, marriage, political position and economic status, especially within the recently restructured state sector, all intertwine.

In Senegal, President Senghor has chosen to retire, even from the post of Secretary-General of the Parti Socialiste. Some are already saying that his nominated successor is being handed a poisoned gift. The country's economy is in tatters — propped up by loans from France, the World Bank and any other donor. However, the extent of external indebtedness is only a partial reflection of the real ills. For, it is the mass of the population who live in the rural areas that are really suffering. The groundnut crop has fallen; cereal production has been hit by the climate. Those who grow millet find that they can no longer sell in the urban centres because nutritional tastes have changed in favour of rice and wheat, much of which has to be imported. Now there is evidence of peasants refusing to grow groundnuts, the major revenue earner for the economy. This is the legacy which Abdou Diouf inherits. He also inherits a political system which survived largely thanks to the skills of Leopold Senghor. With the latter gone, will Diouf be able to withstand the pressures from powerful interest groups within his own party, the Parti Socialiste, or from the fragmented but increasingly popular opposition groups which feel that with the worsening economic climate, the PS regime would be suicidal if it did not at least open the doors of power to the opposition? And what do the brotherhoods have to say? Events in the last few months suggest that they have little reason to be pleased; the peasant is finding life increasingly difficult, and the brotherhoods, especially the Mourides, have become the peasants' political intermediaries in Senegalese politics.

The so-called democratic system in Upper Volta came to an abrupt end only a few weeks ago. Here is a country which has succumbed to the journalists shorthand: "one of the poorest nations on earth" we are told; or, "drought-stricken" or "landlocked". And at the same time: "a democracy". What was democracy under Upper Volta's Third Republic which fell with the coup d'état led by Colonel Saye Zerbo? Was it a parliament so obsessed with its own party political intrigues? Or was it the peasants in the village who refused to consume the soya sent from the US because they knew very well that the stuff was produced for pigs? Yet this was a

country which has shown an unusual tolerance for the press, where trade unions have been responsible for the fall of successive regimes and which has managed to avoid violence. These are issues, contradictions, which need more explanation.

Violence has, unfortunately, never been far below the surface of political life in Mali. It has become apparent that General Traore's new constitutional experiment, which seeks to incorporate civilians and military into the political structure, has not won the hearts of Malians. Early in the New Year a Party Congress of the Union Démocratique des Peuples Maliens is to be held to set the party back on course. One wonders what the students who were killed, beaten up or tortured earlier this year when they launched a series of demonstrations to protest against their conditions, would have to say at this congress.

Here are four countries where the semantics of political life — democracy, change, the people, the masses — have distilled the formal practice of politics in such a manner as to divorce it totally from the harsh realities. When the two collide, the consequences can be extremely nasty.

What 1980 has also shown us in all these countries, without exception, is their complete and subservient integration into an international economic system. It was also the year when prices tumbled and the rain did not — or in some cases, did in excess.

Niger is having to revise its Five Year Plan, which depends to a very large extent on its earnings from the exploitation of its uranium deposits. Uranium prices have been falling this year partly because of reduction in commitments to nuclear energy plants in industrial countries. The fall in groundnut prices continues with slight and brief upward fluctuations. Senegal's economy, and industry has suffered dramatically. In all the other countries along the Sahel where groundnuts had been encouraged, there has been a marked decline in output.

The problem of cocoa prices is no less thorny for Ivory Coast. By now, it should be well-known that Ivory Coast withdrew from the international cocoa market for most of last season in protest against the decline in prices and the failure of the consumers to meet the Ivorian demand for a minimum price — at one stage suggested as \$1.20 but which has since fallen below that desired limit. President Houphouët-Boigny turned on the West earlier this year accusing these



countries of gambling on the lives of African peasants and then took his argument on to suggest that the West was in danger of 'losing Africa'. It begins to look like a vicious circle.

It may be to the advantage of the West and some countries in particular to have African countries indebted to them, until the debt becomes costly. The political consequences of extricating themselves from the position of unsure creditors becomes very confused. The example of Zaïre is instructive.

Take the story back to a little over 20 years ago when the nationalist parties were campaigning just before independence to take control of their respective governments. A common refrain from President Houphouët-Boigny in Ivory Coast, Hamani Diori in Niger and Senghor in Senegal, was that by voting for them and association of some sort or other with France meant the guarantee by the French that their products (cocoa or groundnuts) would receive prices above the world market.

Along the Sahel, there is only one country that has not had another cereal shortfall — Niger. All the others have had to appeal for food aid. Without exception, there are plethora of bureaucracies, little economic adaptation to meet the needs of the peasant. Rural credit rarely rises above the level of usury, except when it concerns a well established, wealthy farmer. At the meeting of CILSS, the group that comprises the eight Sahelian states most affected by drought in the Sahel, met with the donors co-ordinating group at their latest conference in Kuwait. It was made abundantly clear that it was no good pouring money in — the initial CILSS plan called for \$3,000m (which has now risen to \$4,000m) — until one took into account the whole problem of recurrent costs of the projects. Most of these countries will be facing budgetary deficits anyway. Meanwhile there is the very disturbing change in patterns of consumption towards cereals that are not produced sufficiently locally. Rice production is far from adequate, and wheat production is negligible. In the meantime the populations grow.

Governments not only have to face these challenges, the solutions of which demand changes of a political nature, but they also have the immediate task of overcoming their financial deficits. As members of the franc zone there are immediate advantages. Indeed, the tables have been turned,

notably in France. The system permits the drawing of credits far beyond the capacity of most other states that have independent currencies. France is having to act as nominal guarantor and the pressures are mounting especially on the issuing bank of the Union Monétaire Ouest Africaine. Togo is desperately short of cash, Ivory Coast has run down its reserves because of its loss of current revenue from the cocoa policy (though great hopes lie in oil production), Senegal is in search for loans from any creditor, Mali and Upper Volta are in a perpetual state of budgetary deficit and even Niger, this year, has had to look to France for assistance.

From Paris, the picture is not rosy. Chad is in turmoil, and France on whom several regimes ultimately depend for their security, has to nourish their confidence. It has become evident that President Giscard d'Estaing cannot feel the pulse of his African allies (or patients) as, say, de Gaulle could. Relations with Paris are not what they were, not only on the economic level, but President Houphouët-Boigny can no longer feel confident of the personal attention and understanding that most francophone Heads of State have come to expect. The continuing saga of the Bokassa affair has left a bitter taste in the mouths of many of France's West African allies. It must remain a source of disquiet, or at least curiosity, to many that the French political structure still leaves so much room to the French Presidency to conduct foreign affairs that, to put it mildly, are scarcely sympathetic to the cause of development in Africa. This is said, in spite of the substantial (though explicitly self interested) financial aid that is given to so many countries in Africa by France.

Paris finally managed to dampen any hopes that President Senghor might have had for a Francophone commonwealth. This is the Senegalese leader's pet project: at the Franco-African summit in Nice, he managed to persuade the other leaders to give it prominence. However, when the meeting, to be held December 5, to discuss the details of the project approached, a row developed over the Quebec representation at the conference. Quebec complained that it was not permitted by the Canadian authorities to be adequately represented. Paris seconded the view. December 5 passed in a stalemate and without discussions.

What has happened in the former French colonies this year precludes any conclusive outcome. But what did occur can only suggest that 1980 sowed the seeds for an eventful 1981.

# SUCCESS OF ZIMBABWE'S INDEPENDENCE SEEN CRUCIAL FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 Jan 81 p 16

[Article by Don Knowler: "Zimbabwe Will Decide 1981"]

[Text] The full effect of Africa's most dramatic and far-reaching event in 1980 — the birth of Zimbabwe — is likely to be felt only well into 1981.

The independence process in the old Rhodesia — after seven years of bitter, bloody war — finally happened so quickly that neighbouring countries, and especially South Africa, are still struggling to come to grips with it.

What seemed an impossible dream to the black population in Zimbabwe, majority rule, was finally achieved after white-sponsored internal black leaders had come to "power" and now the international focus switches to the last remaining fortress of white rule on the continent, South Africa, and its satellite, SWA/Namibia.

More immediate is the future of SWA/Namibia, which could follow the course of Zimbabwe to elections and black rule this year.

After years of hickering between the United Nations and the South African Government and stalemate in the negotiations to bring a peaceful settlement to the disputed territory, an all-parties conference is going ahead this week.

The euphoria created in black Africa, the Third World, and the West, by

Zimbabwe's independence has not hidden the fact that Mr Mugabe still has a long way to go before he builds a truly stable, prosperous nation.

And the problems he faces in doing this are not likely to diminish this year.

He still must disarm the more than 30 000 guerrillas who have not yet been

found places in the regular army, or been rehabilitated into "civvy street."

Relations between Zanu (PF) and Mr Nkomo's Patriotic Front continue to be uneasy, giving rise to fears that more fighting could break out between militants on both sides.

Mr Mugabe has tried desperately to attract foreign investment and aid to reconstruct a country ravaged by war but has so far failed to do so on a large scale.

Most Western countries and multi-national corporations have sat back to see how the political and economic situation develops before committing themselves to large-scale investment and the activities and statements of hardliners in Zanu (PF) has hampered Mr Mugabe's efforts to convince investors that he and his party have moderated what appears previously to be an extreme socialist philosophy.

Last year it was Mr Edgar Tekere, Minister of Manpower Development, who caused a sensation by publicly admitting he was implicated in the killing of a white farmer (Mr Tekere was subsequently acquitted on a charge of murder).

Mr Tekere retained his cabinet post and the fact that he was not dismissed gave rise to fears that Mr Mugabe was perhaps not in complete control of his party.

There is speculation in Salisbury now that Mr Tekere, backed by the militant elements he represents, may be too powerful a figure to dismiss because a national congress of Zanu (PF) is scheduled for later this year at which Mr Mugabe must seek re-election as party president.

If South Africa has still to feel the full effect of Zimbabwe's independence, there is one neighbouring country that already has — Zambia.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda is now facing his most critical political test after 16 years in power, largely because of the relative prosperity of Zimbabwe.

His people were led to believe that Rhodesia was bankrupt and, "with the last kicks of a dying horse" (Dr Kaunda's words), was determined to



drag neighbouring black states down with it.

With the war over, borders opened and thousands of Zambians visiting Salisbury and Bulawayo to do their shopping, the Zambian population is asking why there should be an abundance of essential foodstuffs and consumer goods in Zimbabwe when there are shortages at home.

Although a slump in worldwide copper prices

in the mid-1970s undoubtedly hit the country's economy, more and more Zambians are beginning to perceive that the root of the problem is the failure of Dr Kaunda's socialist policies.

An influential body of businessmen in Zambia's dominating private sector, backed by economists in favour of the free-enterprise system, have been growing increasingly critical of the president.

Dr Kaunda linked some of these men to a coup attempt late in 1969. The president has now strengthened his hold on the country and the military still is loyal to him.

But his survival depends on his ability to inject new life into the Zambian economy. Whether he can do this remains to be seen in 1981.

Zimbabwe's independence has not been all joy for another neighbour, Mozambique.

President Samora Machel backed Mr Mugabe's guerrillas during the bush war and had much of his country's transport infrastructure in border areas destroyed during Rhodesian raids.

Most of all President Machel was hoping that the activities of the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRM) would cease once Mr Mugabe came to power. But the MRM guerrillas are conti-

nuing to operate inside his country.

Like Zambia, Mozambique is also battling to put its socialist economic policies to work but there has been some immediate spin-off from Zimbabwe's independence in that Zambian exports are now being shipped through Mozambique ports.

These ports, in fact, are the key to what Black Africa considers to be the most positive aspect to emerge from post-independence Zimbabwe — the Southern Africa Committee for Economic Co-operation.

## PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS OF SOUTHERN NINE ALLIANCE EXAMINED

Johannesburg **RAND DAILY MAIL** in English 17 Dec 80 p 17

[Article by Anthony Rider]

[Text] THE southern nine draw their inspiration from the 1967 Arusha declaration. This, of course, was Julius Nyerere's blueprint for how his own country, Tanzania, then six years' independent, could pull itself up, as one commentator had it, by its own steel straps.

The declaration's key principle that political independence did not imply economic independence is what has inspired the southern or Lusaka nine as they have been variously called. In fact they are all economically dependent on other countries, particularly on South Africa.

Their first positive step to regional co-operation was taken a year or so ago at a conference held, appropriately, at Arusha in Tanzania, and attended by eight countries (the nine less the still-to-be-independent Zimbabwe). In April this year Zimbabwe joined the other eight at a Lusaka meeting which produced a joint declaration called "Southern Africa Towards Economic Liberation".

This meeting allocated specific tasks to each of the countries, and also created the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission. Mozambique was given the responsibility of setting it up with headquarters in Maputo.

The nine said the key to economic independence was transport and communications. Zaire had not wanted to be involved in organising the first development plan but did want equal opportunity with the other countries. A five-nation meeting after the nine's summit drew up agreements to enshrine the principle of equal treatment of Zaire and its closest southern neighbours — Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile the nine continued working on the bilateral or multilateral projects that would need international fi-

nance. Most of them produced a shopping list for a conference in Maputo in August. Another meeting was held in Beira to evaluate the suggested projects, and a Ministerial meeting in Salisbury in September drew up priority guidelines. These were rehabilitation of existing transport and communications facilities, establishment of telecommunication and civil aviation infrastructure, new road, rail, air and lake transport systems where feasibility studies had already been completed, feasibility studies for further extending regional road, rail, internal marine, air and shipping facilities.

Against that background the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) engaged consultants who prepared a 400-thick report for this month's donors' conference in Maputo. The nine found plenty of sympathy and support for their aims but not much in the way of new cash pledges.

The nearly R500-million pledged is in fact mostly represented existing commitments by donor countries and international agencies, with only about R50-million in new money. Overall, the nine estimate they need more than R1 000-million over the next decade to achieve their priority goals in transport.

The international aid picture is tighter than it has ever been with Western treasuries discharging less — not more — aid. And in dealing with a region such as the nine represent, there are problems of fixing donor responsibility. In the absence of a single debtor country to be held accountable in multilateral projects, aid would have to be tied to specific schemes like the development of Beira and Maputo ports. The debt would then have to be apportioned between Mozambique and the port's major users.

The old Beira convention under which the Mozambique port was developed, mainly for the Rhodesian trade, was between Britain and Portugal. Portugal borrowed the money but the security for the debt was a treaty which obliged the neighbouring countries under the British whip as it were to make use of the port facilities.

Mozambique, however, prefers establishing the portion of the benefit derived by users. Another difficulty is that Mozambique



ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS CONFRONT BLACK STATES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Jan 81 p 14

[Article by Henry Reuter]

[Text] The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which, through its 13-year history has gradually degenerated into an increasingly ineffectual political talk shop, could be heading for a split this year which would herald its break-up.

The crunch, so far as African unity is concerned, will come in Nairobi, in July. As last year's summit ended in Freetown, Sierra Leone, 28 member states were smarting at being outmanoeuvred by Morocco over their demand for recognition of Polisario's Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic. Half of them were saying they would walk out of this year's Nairobi heads of state summit meeting if, when they arrived, there were no seats allocated for SADR delegates.

Eleven West African states, led by Senegal and Morocco were equally determined to quit — some said the OAU itself and not just the summit meeting — if the "phantom" non-existent SADR state became the OAU's 29th member.

Subsequent reconciliation attempts have had no result. All indications are that the foreign ministers' meeting which will precede the Nairobi summit will find the situation still deadlocked. The Ministers will pass a face-saving resolution to enable the summit meeting to at least begin. Then it will be a case of the split being averted by another face-saving compromise.

Even if the OAU's everweakening bond of unity—combined opposition to apartheid and everything South African—holds the organization together once again on this issue, it will immediately face yet another crisis.

This will be a move by Arab member countries to oust Egypt from the OAU because of its treaty with Israel. Many black states will be angry at Arab attempts to bring their own squabbles into the African organisation but will keep quiet for fear of cuts in their oil supplies. But those who are not reliant on Arab oil or have been victims of Libyan subversion attempts will put up sufficient resistance to reject the expulsion move.

This will be achieved with the help of heads of states who do not attend the summit — those who do attend are getting fewer and fewer — who

will instruct their emissaries that the thing to vote for is anything to preserve African unity.

The summit will, in any case, pass about 40 more resolutions, many of these calling for measures against South Africa, including trade and oil embargoes.

Kenya stepped in to host the summit meeting after Guinea had said it could not afford to, bearing in mind that other African countries had virtually bankrupted themselves hosting previous summits.

Kenya alone in Africa has the facilities and infrastructure to make a profit on an OAU summit meeting. This is one of the few bright spots in the country's 1981 prospects.

Tourism is stagnant, much of Kenya's industry is threatened with closure due to government delay in approving import permits for raw materials, cash crop production is falling, there is a nationwide shortage of the staple diet—maize meal—and population growth estimates, the highest in the world, have just been increased from 3,5 to 3,9 percent annually.

Development plan targets have been revised, downwards, and Kenya faces a 1981 in which more and more people will be competing for fewer jobs and in which ominous rumblings of public discontent will become louder unless the unprecedented maize and rice shortages, allegedly exacerbated by high-level corruption and the unloading of Kenya's harvests into neighbouring countries' black markets, can be ended.

Discontent with Julius Nyerere's socialist regime in Tanzania and its impoverishing effect on the nation will grow in 1981 notwithstanding the recent "general election" in which all candidates were dominated by the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Party, which retained the right to reject candidates even after their election.

At independence, 19 years ago, the average annual per capita income of

Tanzania was estimated at \$140. Today, with inflation running at several hundred percent since then, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs has just launched a five-year plan which estimates the average income at \$242,40 and aims at raising it to \$271,5 by 1985.

But Tanzanians, once described by a colonial governor as "a great malleable mass of Bantu," a people bombarded daily and exclusively with government propaganda, will do nothing about their plight in 1981, except grumble.

For Uganda 1981 may well begin as a year of hope and end as a year of tragedy. There the recent even more farcical general election returned to power Milton Obote and his Uganda Peoples Congress. The UPC originally came to power, forming Uganda's first independent government, in 1962. It proceeded to ban the opposition, declare a one-party state and create a socialist, secret-police-ridden terror regime.

Back in power last month, Obote professed to have seen the error of his ways. He has since been making all the correct moves to restore order from the chaos left by Idi Amin. His policy is diverging to the right compared with that of his mentor, Julius Nyerere. His main opposition, the Democratic Party, has been sufficiently convinced to drop its cries of "we was robbed" for calls for co-operation.

**Toddy Uganda is hope-  
ful.** There is light in the tunnel. But the big question is how long a rein will Nyerere, who still has a 10,000-man occupation force in Uganda, allow his protégé to have. Any reversion to socialist tyranny will cause a blood-bath.

**Sudan's President** Ghafar Nimeiry will also have a stormy political

year. For years he has been beset on all sides by political intrigue but has been faster on his feet than his opponents. His recent overture to communist bloc Ethiopia will pay no dividends in 1981 in relieving him of the

**burden of some 800,000** Eritrean refugees settled inside his borders.

Although it is claimed that in recent talks he has nudged the Ethiopian government and its Marxist secessionists, represented by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front nearer a negotiated settlement, it will not come about this year, if ever. Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam would not dare to hold a public plebiscite on Eritrea's future. As for the rest of the settlement suggestions, both sides are too intractable.

Mengistu's Russian-backed regime will have

**threatening "troubles"** in 1981 with the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front which demands autonomy for this most neglected of Ethiopian provinces and which Mengistu has attempted to brush aside in the past. The TPLF grows increasingly stronger and is now the strongest of Ethiopia's separatist organizations.

More than 80,000 peasants are now living in the wild mountains and backing the guerrilla force to the hilt.

For Somalia, 1981 will be a year of humiliation and disappointment. President Siyad Barre has just begun a new round of negotiations with the

US for 3,000 million dollars worth of military and economic aid, as the price of providing Indian Ocean bases. But the Reagan administration will be harder than Carter's. Any aid he gets will be mainly in food aid for his refugees, and will be worth less than a quarter of the sum demanded.

Provision of the military hardware would result in the alienation of neighbouring Kenya, which considers itself threatened by Somalia, and the US has made it clear that in such a clash of interests its relations with Kenya come first. Barre's adulation of the

**Kremlin** where the Russians decided to swap their Somali bases for others in Ethiopia is still borne in mind.

The tiny state of Djibouti will lead a precarious existence this year in continual threat of being overrun either by Ethiopian-backed Afar tribesmen or Somalia-backed Isaaq, the two main tribes which comprise its population.

Thousands of Afars are being trained by Cubans and armed by the Soviet Union in a vast military camp on its frontier with Ethiopia. And Libya has been making mysterious arms shipments to the Isaaq-dominated Djibouti government, to the anger of France which finances Djibouti's economy in return for a naval and air base and which is not being consulted by anybody.

Egypt, with Kissinger now involved in the negotiations, is expected to consolidate its Camp David Treaty with Israel in the next few months and to make some progress in 1981 in ending its isolation by the rest of the Arab world.

Across the north of Africa, Chad, Mali, Upper Volta, Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia and Cape Verde will once again request food from the international community to

combat ever present famine. An international committee to combat the Sahel drought has complained that in 1980 only 10 percent of the need was supplied by developed countries.

The eighth Sahel country, Niger, is better off because of its uranium exports. One of its largest customers for uranium is Libya which has been accused of attempting political subversion in all the other Sahel countries. Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, now entrenched in Chad, is expected to continue in 1981 his attempts to create a Libyan empire.

Of the potential west African 1981 trouble spots Sierra Leone carries the highest risk. The capital, Freetown, is simmering with public discontent at government corruption and deteriorating living standards. President Siaka Stevens' All Peoples Congress one-party republic is under continual attack by students, anti-government demonstrations are commonplace and the past few months has seen the formation of an externally active opposition group calling itself the National Alliance Party.

Senegal, too, is restive following the resignation of President Senghor, and in 1981 the new President,



Abdou Diouf, an uncharismatic economist, will be lucky to maintain control at a time of economic crisis in a country with an economy based on groundnuts.

Zaire can expect a big injection of IMF capital — probably one billion dollars — early in 1981 following its repayment in 1980 of most of its massive overseas debts, which exceeded 470 million dollars. A new 114-member central committee of the ruling MPR party will ease the legislative council out of power thus tightening even more president Mobutu's control of the country.

Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe's revolutionary Liberia will have a year of unprecedented economic recession, for no other reason than much of its capital has flown since Doe's coup and nobody trusts the Master Sergeant sufficiently to bring it back.

In Ghana, events are building up for yet another military-government confrontation as clashes between the Peoples National Party government of Dr Hilla Limann and Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, the man responsible for the last military takeover, become ever more bitter.

Limann and Rawlings are playing a deadly cat and mouse game. Pushed out of power, Rawlings boasts that he can call out the army and take over again whenever he wishes. The threat becomes a very real one in the light of the country's continued economic downslide and Limann's failure to bring about reforms promised when he took power over a year ago.

Fanatical Muslim disturbances in the north apart, Nigeria will have a year of steady development progress under President Shagari, with the

various federal states at last beginning to recover and benefit from mounting oil revenues.

As it maintains the largest army in Africa, Nigeria will continue to seek reasons or justifications for using it one way or another, against black Africa's common enemy, South Africa.

It will head an economic onslaught against the Republic, and politicians will look outwards for public diversions calculated to take the spotlight off various internal tensions.

Work on the nation's new capital, at Abuja, 800 km from Lagos, will continue apace, if for no other reason than to ensure it is finished before Lagos sinks in its own curvets.

# INFLUX OF ZIMBABWEAN SETTLERS CAUSES SA HOUSING SHORTAGE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Jan 81 p 32

[Article by Peter Malherbe]

[Text] **A RUSH of Zimbabwean settlers has aggravated Johannesburg's flat shortage.**

Major estate agents said this week their flats were full — and that the situation was likely to worsen.

Immigration from neighbouring Zimbabwe and the boom economic climate were named as the major factors that have led to thousands of people searching for accommodation in Johannesburg.

Mr Ronald Levy, managing director of Allied Finders Letting, said that in two months his company alone had found accommodation for 600 families from Zimbabwe.

He said that there were thousands of people needing accommodation, and other estate agents confirmed this.

"There is an acute shortage. People can't find anywhere to stay," said Mr J Hallie, director of Anglo American Property Services.

All of the 1 500 flats his company controls have been "packed out since last year," he said. "Even though we raised the rents recently, we never have a flat empty."

Mr Hallie said that a new trend in flat dwelling had emerged over the past year.

"In the past, people used to move around a lot. Now they can't find alternative accommodation, so they are living there permanently."

## Upturn

Mr Les Weil, managing director of J H Isaacs and Co., said that the upturn in economic conditions and the immigration from Zimbabwe had led to the present flat shortage. "Two years ago our blocks in the city were 30 percent empty. Now they are full."

His company controls 4 000 flats throughout Johannesburg, with monthly rentals ranging from R150 for a one-bedroomed flat to R800 for a seven-bedroomed one.

Even Ponte, where luxury apartments cost R1 350 per month, has been full for most of this year.

The general manager, Mr J van Wyk, said that accommodation was at a premium. "Our 607 apartments have been full since April."

An estate agent, Mr R Hoesack, said that Zimbabweans coming to Johannesburg had "aggravated the shortage which had been building up."

He said that his company, Arthur Mathis and Co., controls more than 1 000 flats which have been full for months.

He claimed that the outlook for the future was gloomy.

"The shortage is getting even worse, and no more flats for letting purposes are being built."



## SOUTH AFRICA POWER STILL SUFFERING FROM SABOTAGE IN MOZAMBIQUE

Johannesburg **RAND DAILY MAIL** in English 8 Jan 81 p 13

[Article by Simon Willson]

[Text] **THE INCREASING** contribution of the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric project to South Africa's electricity supply is highlighted in figures which show that the quantity of foreign power in the national grid rose by 12% in 1979.

Electricity production figures issued by the Department of Statistics show that in 1979, the most recent year for which complete records are available, South Africa bought 10 356 GWh (gigawatt hours — a gigawatt is 1 000-million kilowatt hours, or units) of foreign-generated electric power.

The 1979 total is 2.5% up on the amount of power bought in 1978 — 10 073 GWh — and pushes the proportion of foreign-generated power in the South African system up to 12%.

All but a negligible charge of the national grid's foreign power is generated at the 1 000-million Cahora Bassa dam on the Zambezi River in Mozambique, about 1 600 km north-east of Pretoria.

The power connection, be-

tween the dam and the Electricity Supply Commission's Apollo receiving station near Pretoria has been broken for a month after suspected sabotage on high-tension pylons in Mozambique.

Eskom has received no power from the dam since the break on December 9 last year, and the Lisbon-based Cahora Bassa administration company, Hidroelectrica Cahora Bassa (HCB), has not given Eskom any estimated date of resumption of supply.

Eskom used to insist in the mid-1970s that foreign power sources would never account for more than 9% of South Africa's power needs — that is, foreign sources would never exceed half South Africa's total power reserve capacity.

With the power lines to Cahora Bassa now out of commission, and with no immediate prospect of resumption of supply, 12% of the national grid's power supply is missing indefinitely.

After numerous technical, natural and strategic setbacks the dam's power supply to

South Africa became fully available nearly two years ago, and South Africa's power import figures are confirmation of the expansion of Cahora Bassa's supply potential to a point close to its maximum.

The figures show that the first small charges of power from Cahora Bassa to the South African grid were received in 1975 when the 25 GWh from the dam supplied 0.03% of South Africa's electricity.

The quantity of power imported from Cahora rose by 90% in 1978 when it supplied 1.7%.

In 1977 the dam was supplying 5.8% of the power in the grid and 0.9% in 1976. The dam supplied 10 356 GWh of the 85 720 GWh sold in South Africa in 1979.

The scheduled step-up in power supply to South Africa from the dam was interrupted by floods in the Zambezi, the colonial and post-colonial wars in Mozambique and the international political implications of electrical connections between Pretoria-ruled Mozambique and South Africa.

# TANZANIA SEEKS KENYAN PERMISSION TO IDENTIFY DEAD RUSTLERS

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 27 Dec 80 p 3

[Text]

DAR ES SALAAM, Friday.

TANZANIA is asking Kenya to allow its officials entry to identify the bodies of 22 cattle rustlers the Kenyans say their police killed near the common border this week, the Shihata news agency reported.

The Kenya news agency reported on Tuesday that the rustlers were Tanzanians and had been killed on Monday in an exchange of fire with police and anti-poaching rangers in Masai Mara game reserve in western Kenya.

In western Kenya. A Tanzanian government official here, quoted by Shihata, said Dar es Salaam did not know whether the rustlers were Tanzanians.

"We shall only be in a position to confirm or deny the reports after identifying the bodies," the official said. He said efforts to gain entry to Kenya were being made through diplomatic channels.

The news agency said the government was appealing to Tanzanians living in border villages of the Mara region to tell police if any of their relatives or neighbours were missing.

The incident has strained the already sour relations between Nairobi and Dar who were members of the defunct East African community which collapsed in 1977, provoking Dar to shut its border with Kenya.

A senior official from the Tanzanian foreign ministry said yesterday that his government had sent a

diplomatic Note to Nairobi seeking clarification over the shooting.

Tanzania had dispatched senior police officials to the border area to ascertain the situation and Nairobi has been requested to allow Tanzania police to cross the border to identify the bodies of the dead men.

According to the Kenyan DAILY NATION newspaper, Kenyan police engaged 30 Tanzanians some of whom were dressed in militia uniforms at the border village of Talah along the Masai Mara game reserve, killing 22 of the suspected cattle rustlers in the two-hour fire exchange.

The Kenyan police suffered no casualties and managed to recover the livestock as the remaining Tanzanians fled across the border.

Principal secretary to the ministry of foreign affairs Daniel Mbiha said here that Tanzania had been shocked at the news and had requested the Kenyan authorities to clarify the matter.

He said the government would investigate the matter through diplomatic channels in cooperation with the Kenyan government.

Should Kenya confirm the slaying, the incident is

likely to attract strong protest from Dar which has been negotiating with Nairobi for a new trade agreement before the border is reopened.

DEFENSE VICE MINISTER EXPRESSES PRIDE IN ARMED FORCES

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 10 Dec 80 p 10

[Text] "Our military parade has two characteristics: On one hand it shows the fighting and organizational capability of the armed forces, and on the other, it shows some of the modern and sophisticated equipment the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] has," declared Col David Moises (Ndozi) of the party central committee, vice minister of defense and deputy chief of the FAPLA General Staff, during a meeting with the national press media.

At that time he revealed some details on this significant accomplishment, which is part of the overall series of various demonstrations honoring the First Extraordinary Congress of the MPLA-Labor Party and the creation of the People's Assembly.

With respect to the principal activities linked to the preparation of the military parade, the vice minister of defense said that officers, sergeants and soldiers of the glorious FPLA had several technical training sessions which culminated with a raising of the tactical level of the participants. Parallel with this work, he added, an intensive political-ideological work was performed among the soldiers of the armed forces aimed at mentally preparing them for the large-scale and qualitative participation in this important event. "It is not easy to train a soldier to go from the normal state to the attainment of the objective sought," he said.

However, as he said later, beyond the individual or collective technical-tactical training of the soldiers, a recreational work was also accomplished, which, among other things, consisted of the playing of sports and the showing of films. This activity, he emphasized further on, gave a significant impetus to the almost complete accomplishment of this hard task.

Speaking on armed forces development in the technical, tactical and operational aspects, Colonel Ndozi said "This is also one of the objectives of the parade. We shall have the opportunity to show the world, not only our people, the point at which we find ourselves in this respect."

As to some doubts which have risen about the handling of sophisticated material of our army by national personnel, the deputy chief of the FPLA General Staff asserted: "Everything will be made very clear on 10 December by the military parade.

"With this military parade we can prove the determination, courage and bravery of our soliders and, above all, their loyalty to the country, the people, the party and the defense of the revolutionary gains won throughout the 5 years of existence of the People's Republic of Angola as a free and sovereign state," he said in conclusion.

In the meantime, it was revealed by Colonel Ndozi, on the day of the parade, an oath by the armed forces will be delivered to their commander in chief, Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the party and the republic.

8908

CSO: 4401

EANES ELECTION VIEWED AS POSITIVE FOR CONTINUED RELATIONS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 9 Dec 80 p 1

[Editorial: "The Elections in Portugal"]

[Text] Last Sunday, by a significant majority, the Portuguese people reelected the present president of the republic, Gen Ramalho Eanes, to a new 4-year term in the high office he has been holding since 1976.

We are not trying to interfere in the internal affairs of a country with which we want to maintain the best relations of friendship and cooperation. However, neither can we ignore that the Portuguese people were our ally in the common struggle against the colonialism and fascism we defeated on 25 April 1974. It is in that respect that we have the right to congratulate the Portuguese people for having been able to close the path to fascism once more, a fascism represented in the last elections by the candidate of the government coalition of the right, the commando officer and former secretary general of one of the last colonial governments in Angola, Gen Soares Carneiro.

By electing Eanes and rejecting the candidate supported by the forces of the right, the Portuguese people reaffirmed their determination to preserve the gains of April, respect the constitution and obey democratic rules, toward which the electoral program presented by the present chief of state is aimed.

Here in Angola we received the news of the victory by Gen Ramalho Eanes, and therefore, of the progressive and democratic forces which supported him, with satisfaction. Above all, however, we enthusiastically receive the confirmation that the majority of the Portuguese people categorically rejected the candidate of reaction, thus pledging to remain firm in combat so that April will remain and fascism will not return...ever again!

We in Angola were aware that the possible election of Soares Carneiro to lead the destinies of the Portuguese people would not fail to bring serious problems to the state relations between Portugal and the People's Republic of Angola, since relations between the two peoples never were, nor are they now, in question. With Soares Carneiro—one of the most loyal and enthusiastic servants of Portuguese colonialism in Angola—no dialog would be possible!

With that viewpoint, we also view the Ramalho Eanes victory in the last presidential elections as a reaffirmation of the support given by the Portuguese people to the official Portuguese policy of open dialog and useful mutual cooperation between Portugal and the young African states, which Gen Ramalho Eanes courageously assumed in the last 4 years against the unrealistic attitude of some leaders of the government coalition party who insist on supporting those who are left of the puppets racist South Africa keeps in its service.

It was in the materialization of that principle and within the framework of the spirit of tolerance and understanding, of which we have always given proof, that the historic summit meeting of Bissau was held between the Portuguese President and the well-remembered Comrade President Agostinho Neto. The agreements signed after the talks were at that time the platform possible for understanding between Portugal and the People's Republic of Angola. Primarily, however, they had the merit of showing that dialog was possible provided both parties went to the negotiating table without complexes, with an open mind and if they respected each other.

If what was then called the "spirit of Bissau" has not up to now had the effects on the relations between the two states desired by Presidents Agostinho Neto and Ramalho Eanes, no fault can be attributed to the People's Republic of Angola.

In Portugal there are still those who dream of returning to the past, to the "old colonial empire," which was destroyed forever! And those dreams which some leaders of the rightist government coalition have not been able to hide, conclude by leading to the adoption of positions and measures prejudicial to the dignity and independence of the Angolan people, and many times to unacceptable interference in our internal affairs.

How can we accept, for example, the support the puppets still receive in Portugal from responsible political forces and the freedom of movement they find there for conspiring freely against the people and government of the People's Republic of Angola? And what can be said about the coverage that the state-run press still gives to the imaginative statements of Angolan renegades, common criminals, who recruit mercenaries in Portugal with impunity for fighting in the puppet bands at the service of racist South Africa and international imperialism?

Those are only some of the examples of the clouds which darken the so-called "Spirit of Bissau" and have hindered the harmonious development of relations of friendship and cooperation between Portugal and the People's Republic of Angola.

For that reason also, we receive the news of the defeat of Commando Gen Soares Carneiro in the presidential elections in Portugal with satisfaction, at the same time that we hail the victory of Gen Ramalho Eanes and the progressive and democratic forces which supported him. A victory, in the end, of the Portuguese working people. The struggle continues! Victory is certain!

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CSO: 4401



MPLA PUBLISHES PROCLAMATION ON ITS ANNIVERSARY

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 10 Dec 80 p 3

[Statement by the MPLA Political Bureau on the commemoration of the 24th anniversary of its founding and on the 3rd anniversary of its constitution as a labor party]

[Excerpts] In these 3 years of existence, the MPLA-Labor Party has assumed the leadership of the state and society in the application of the decisions, which at a political, economic and social level were established by the Congress with a view toward wresting our country from underdevelopment and dependence.

At this time it becomes necessary to make a critical accounting of the way in which these decisions were put into practice, to correct errors and trace the path we must follow to achieve the well-being, happiness and progress of our people, the main objective of the Angolan Revolution.

The Extraordinary Congress is taking place at a particularly opportune time, since it becomes necessary not only to make an accounting of compliance with the orientations previously traced, but also to take corrective measures against the obstacles raised in the application of the economic policy of the party and to define new goals to be reached during the next 5-year period in the various sectors of the economic-social life of the country.

Actually, while on one hand reasons of an objective nature linked to the war effort imposed on us by South Africa, our lack of experience in organizing and managing, the lack of personnel and the inexistence of figures which allow a true knowledge of installed capacities led to some of the orientations traced not being complied with, on the other hand, we must acknowledge our errors and our faults in the activities of strict supervision in the application of the policy established.

Therefore, not always has it been possible to instill in all party and state officials the awareness of the need to comply with superior decisions, this negative attitude being passed on to other working personnel. Thus, it can be seen that some officials and workers do not assume clearcut responsibility for the tasks they should perform, which leads to the breakdown in authority, creating conditions in which indiscipline and anarchy can take root, nurturing in our midst the development of ideas and practices of our traditional enemy.

All that has been possible because bourgeois ideology, petit-bourgeois manifestations expressed by moral and material corruption, demagoguery, populism, cronyism, promotion of incompetence, despotism, the spirit of indifference, passiveness, noncompliance with superior orders, opportunistic use of tribal and regional sentiments and racial prejudice, have not been fought effectively.

That is why our party instructs all its members to fight without quarter against all those practices which prevent our programs of economic and social development from being completely fulfilled.

Therefore, there where incompetence has become rooted, it must be firmly dislodged; there where indiscipline and anarchy reigns, it must be replaced by consciously accepted authority and discipline; there where moral and material corruption exists, it must be denounced with militant courage; in short, there where the enemy seeks to sully the ideological purity of the MPLA-Labor Party, the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of our party principles must be raised very high.

In this battle, our main weapon is the MPLA-Labor Party. That is why it is necessary to strengthen it from the organizational and ideological point of view and to consolidate its prestige before the masses. The cells of our party are, therefore, called upon to perform an intensive work of explanation and mobilization of the workers with a view to attaining high rates of production and productivity, the principal foundation for satisfying the fundamental needs of our people.

It is particularly important that all the party and union and administrative structures in each work place properly coordinate their activities because, although they are different, their tasks are complementary and are aimed at compliance with established plans and goals.

Although young, the MPLA-Labor Party has been establishing itself as a Marxist-Leninist party, which together with the progressive and revolutionary forces of the entire world, is capable of fighting for the complete liberation of humanity, peace and social progress of peoples.

Particularly in Africa, our party has consolidated its prestige because of the firm anti-imperialist attitude it has always advocated and because of the clear internationalist position of support for people who are still fighting against colonialism, neocolonialism and racism.

On this glorious day of the anniversary of the founding of our party, let us consolidate our unity around Comrade President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, let us celebrate with revolutionary happiness the holding of the Extraordinary Party Congress and let us prepare as of now to put into practice the orientations which will be issued. The struggle continues! Victory is certain!

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CSO: 4401



PRIVATE VENDORS VIEWED AS HARMFUL TO ECONOMY

Luanda JOURNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Dec 80 p 2

[Article by Ocirma: "The Key"]

[Text] They are the latest style of minimarket because they are more "mini" than the minimarkets and they exist throughout the city in each alley and on every corner. They even have an interesting and very meaningful name, they are called "husband helper markets."

A little bit of everything is sold in them: Peanut candy, mincates [meaning unknown] bananas, radio batteries, clothing and an infinity of trifles, all of them taken out of the normal channels of distribution under the pretext of being obtained for personal use.

It happens that these "husband helper" markets, in keeping with the name so accurately given them, are meant for complementing the wages of the husbands of the vendors because their wages cannot pay for the high cost of living.

This means that the "husband helper" markets are an integral part of the machinery engendered by the existing great shortage of products and as such they themselves are also a part of the system of speculation and illegal activities taking place in the retail business.

We may not be able to find certain products such as thread, needles, pins, esqueiros, baby clothing and who knows what else in a state-run establishment; everything that is in short supply and of common usage, even, as we saw above, homemade food products.

And, according to what we have seen, no one has laid a hand on this rash of "husband helper" markets, which in addition to giving a wretched appearance to the city, are an unbridled wave of brazen "theft" because it is committed before our very eyes, and also because it is an even greater instigation to personal consumption and the actual theft of products manufactured in the factories.

Another problem is that it does not seem to us that the vendors have the slightest authorization approved by the Provincial Commissioner's Office or any other agency for carrying out business on public thoroughfares.

What to do? What has to be done is not easy to find. The greatest solution, as is always said with respect to speculation, is to struggle for increases in production. However, the truth is that if we want to put an end to them and to speculation, other measures must be applied and applied to the root of the problem, which is primarily self-consumption, followed by other wide-ranging measures.

Now, it seems to us that to close our eyes to this situation is in no way the most proper solution, even because it concludes by creating vices and habits which later on may create greater difficulties.

We believe it is time to think a little bit about this problem which should always be of concern to the higher agencies of the state.

8908

CSO: 4401

## CALIBER OF NEW AMBASSADORS QUESTIONED

Accra THE LEGON OBSERVER in English 19 Sep 80 pp 227-228

[Excerpts] After nearly a year of hard searching the President has appointed ambassadors to represent the country abroad. We extend our heartiest congratulations to our ambassadors. While doing so, however, we have a few pertinent questions we would like the country as a whole and the political parties in particular to reflect upon. Firstly, before the new ambassadors settle down, the new ones at the job will need some time to study the files. Before these new ambassadors have acquired the hang of it all, some of them will be returning home if in 1983 President Limann is not re-elected and the new Head of State does not confirm them. Even if President Limann is re-elected for a second term of office it is just possible that he may not confirm all of them. At the most, therefore, those new appointees can serve for only three years, possibly less and they can hardly be expected to represent the country effectively within such a short period, especially if they are new to the job. Given the exigencies of the situation and the delicate nature of diplomacy, would it not have been better had the President chosen more experienced personnel from his original list?

Secondly, we know from the proceedings of the Parliamentary Appointments Committee that some of the people named by the President were not considered good enough for inclusion in the President's Cabinet. Surely the Council of State considered each of the President's nominees before endorsing the appointment. For a variety of reasons, however, the public was kept out of the chambers of the Council and is uninformed of its proceedings. It will be interesting to hear that after much consideration, the Council advised the President to drop one or two, or even more of his

nominees. While this may raise a number of constitutional issues, it is our contention that such a move on the part of the Council will go a long way to engender public confidence in that body. If this is not done, a number of people are likely to pose the question of whether people who do not meet the requirements for appointment as Ministers at home qualify to be appointed as Ministers abroad. In addition, a section of the populace will begin to see the Council of State as a mere rubber stamp of the President's decisions.

Thirdly, following the promise in the President's inaugural address, the Minister of Foreign Affairs assured Parliament some time ago that there was to be a review of the country's overseas representation to make for savings.

Laudable as this may be, there are a few other pertinent issues we would like the government to consider. Firstly, where are the savings going to be made from? Secondly, we must begin to assess the importance of all our embassies in Europe, North America and the Far East. Since economics has taken precedence over politics in international affairs, perhaps it would be economical to have only about two embassies in Europe, one in North America and one in the Far East. The rest of our representation should be purely economic. This may enable us to concentrate on Africa and the Middle East where we are likely to develop strong economic ties within the next two decades.

We have raised some general points about the new ambassadorial appointments but we will specifically point out that there is a disturbing feature about these appointments. It would appear that the President attaches very little importance to the calibre of people appointed as ambassadors to countries we have traditionally perceived as important: namely, countries like the United States, Russia, West Germany and Britain. These are still our important trading partners, and most Ghanaians expected men of stature to be sent to these countries. Instead, compared with past ambassadors to these countries, the new ones appear to be lightweight.

It is our belief that we have in this country now distinguished ex-Vice-Chancellors, ex-civil servants, trade unionists, career diplomats, politicians and businessmen who are still active enough to serve their country creditably abroad in this crucial period of our history. Political considerations are important in these appointments, but we should not attach over-mighty importance to them.

ARMY, MYP RECRUITMENT EFFORTS REPORTED

'Successful' Campaign

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 12 Jan 81 p 12

[Text] Mhotakota Sunday. Hundreds of able-bodied young men last Tuesday converged on the boma here to enlist with the Malawi Army as soldiers.

A total of twenty men were recruited during the exercise, who will be trained and join the Second Battalion of the Malawi Army.

According to the officer in charge of the recruitment campaign here, Major H. E. J. Mtwana, the young men of the district showed keen interest in the defence of their country.

He further stated that the whole campaign had been carried out smoothly, and successfully.—NANA.

Army, MYP Recruitment

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 13 Jan 81 p 5

[Text] Nkhata Bay Monday. Some 25 young men of between 18 and 23 years old were recruited into the army in an exercise held at the boma.

The recruitment team, led by Major K. Kimwaka, has already recruited young men in Chitipa and Rumphi Districts.

Major Simwaka stated that every suitable candidate had to undergo a rigorous medical check-up before he could finally be taken.

He added: "Everyone who is to be a soldier must be cleared security-wise because we do not want 'undesirables' in the force."

Successful youths will undergo their training at the Military Training College in Salima District which may last up to six or more months.

Meanwhile in Thyolo, a team of officers from the Malawi Young Pioneers (MYP) headquarters will carry out a third recruitment exercise of youths this week from

January 15-18 for training at Malawi Young Pioneer bases, Mr. John Abraham, the District Youth League Secretary said.

Masenjere, Thunga School, Chipanje, Ntundama, Namitenbe, Chipwanya, Kapanga, Zoa, Moleri, Makwasa, Nagara, Khonjeni, Muonekera, Mangunda, Lomola, Nansato, Nabomba, Namileme, Nchima and Malawi Congress Party (MCP) district office have been selected as centre he said.

Mr. Abraham advised all youths wishing to join the MYP Movement to meet recruiting officers at their nearest centres to register their names on the dates given.

During the last two recruitments carried out last year in September and November, a total of 200 boys and girls were recruited from the district for training.--MARA

C50: 4420

## BRIEFS

SEED DISTRIBUTION--Chikwawa, Sunday. Distribution of hybrid maize seed from the Life President to the people in Chikwawa is in progress here in a bid to redress areas which had been hit by drought in the district. Chikwawa has been allocated 20,800 bags of hybrid seed and an equal number of fertilisers, according to officials handling the distribution here. The hybrid maize seed is being distributed to the people by Party and Government officials and through markets of Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (ADMARC) throughout the district. The distribution of hybrid maize seed is done alongside the distribution of free maize given by the Malawi leader for supply to his people in the drought-stricken areas. So far 9,070 bags of free maize have been distributed to the people in Chikwawa since June last year.—MANA. [Text] [Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 12 Jan 81 p 7]

CSO: 4420



# PARTY STANDS, PROSPECTS IN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN DISCUSSED

## Labor Party Holds Congress

Port Louis THE NATION in French 24 Nov 80 pp 1, 4

[Text] It is necessary to block the path of communism and prevent the MPM from winning power. This is the main message voiced by the principal leaders of the Labor Party during the regional congress the party held in Flacq as a part of the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the beginning of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam's political career. His lieutenants swore fidelity and asked him to head the electoral campaign of the party. The tone of some speeches provided an initial glimpse of the electoral campaign of the Labor Party. The danger the MPM represents for democratic institutions, the threat of communism and dictatorship, and the Jundoo-singh affair were other subjects discussed at the congress, while the political career of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam was the subject of many favorable commentaries.

Dr James Burty David, president of the Labor Party, described the long political career of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam since 1940, the year in which he began to struggle to safeguard parliamentary democracy. He said that Sir Seewoosagur brought a true cultural, social and economic revolution to Mauritius. According to Dr David, Sir Seewoosagur's great virtues are patience and tolerance. His goal since his entry into the political arena has been to provide a breath of inspiration and democracy and socialism for Mauritius. This goal has been achieved.

The Labor Party, under the enlightened leadership of Sir Seewoosagur, has been able to preserve freedom and democracy. We live in a very fragile society, Dr. David further said. Sir Seewoosagur has succeeded in maintaining the balance and satisfying everyone. The greatness of the Labor Party, Dr David added, lies in the fact that each member can express himself freely within the party. He raised the question as to what is happening in the MPM today. An open war has broken out within the party. Dr. David added that the Jundoo-singh affair is a quarrel based on principle. The MPM cannot respect its own constitution. If the party wins power tomorrow, Dr David asked, do you believe it will respect the constitution of the country? He is of the opinion that the disturbances within the MPM in connection with the Jundoo-singh affair are proof that the rural regions have escaped the control of the MPM. And in conclusion, he said: "Bonne soldat, commence prepare zotte."

Speaking after Dr. David, Minister of Labor Razack Peeroo, described Sir Seewoosagur as an "historic personality." Who, he asked, would have predicted that this man born 80 years ago would one day shape the future of the country so spiritedly? Mr. Peeroo



also referred to the Jundoo Singh and Venkatasamy affairs to show that freedom of expression is not being respected within the MMM.

Pursuing another line of thinking, the minister stressed that as long as the Labor Party remains in power, there will be general municipal and village elections. If the MMM succeeds in winning power, this will mean the end of democracy. Within this context, Mr. Peeroo expressed the hope that Sir Seewoosagar will remain at the head of the country for a long time yet, to safeguard democracy, socialism and freedom of expression.

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo, minister of finance, paid vibrant homage to Sir Seewoosagar in connection with his 40 years of political life. Sir Veerasamy said: "Today is a day of celebration. The Flacq district, an historic spot, was chosen for the celebration of the period Sir Seewoosagar spent in the legislative council." He reviewed the struggle waged by Sir Seewoosagar, a great leader. The Flacq district, he said, produced a man of this caliber, which other countries have not been able to produce. Sir Veerasamy added that it is necessary at all costs to block the path of communism.

The Labor Party, according to Sir Veerasamy, along with its eternal ally the GAM [Moslem Action Committee], will undertake a vast campaign and will plunge into a merciless struggle against the MMM. He expressed the wish that "Nou oule gagne une victoire totale contre MMM." Sir Veerasamy stressed that the Labor Party will present itself to the electorate as a single family united behind Sir Seewoosagar. "Nous bisin faire face a l'ennemi comme un seul homme," Sir Veerasamy said in conclusion.

Speaking to a very receptive and enthusiastic audience, Sir Satcam Boolell, minister of agriculture, natural resources and environment, stated that all the leaders of the Labor Party should swear an "oath of fidelity" to serve the country under the enlightened leadership of the Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagar Ramgoolam. Sir Satcam stressed that Sir Seewoosagar has had a long career, which has been denied other leaders in the world. "Sir Seewoosagar still has strength and still has enthusiasm for continuing the struggle. We in the Labor Party feel solidarity for him and we thank him for the wisdom and intelligence with which he has led the party," Sir Satcam went on to say. According to Sir Satcam, the Prime Minister is the architect of the independence and the economic development of Mauritius.

Proceeding to another line of thinking, Sir Satcam noted that despite the efforts of the government to provide the country with prosperity, there is a political party involved, the MMM, which puts spokes in the wheels of the Labor Party in order to ruin the country's economy. If we must face a serious problem today, it is because no one wanted to take certain advice into account, and we are in the process now of paying the price, Sir Satcam stressed.

Sir Satcam went on to maintain that the MMM did not act in the interests of the country in organizing strikes in the ports, transportation and the sugar industry. What is the result? People who were employed are out on the street because of the ill-considered action of the MMM. It is Sir Satcam's opinion that the MMM has slowed the thrust of the government in creating jobs. It is Mr. Paul Berenger who is responsible for the difficulties the country is experiencing. The strike called in the port will not soon be forgotten, and the country had to pay out the sum of 843 million rupees by way of demurrage fees. "If the 13th month is not earned, it is the MMM which is responsible," Minister Boolell said further.

Sir Satcan recalled moreover that the striking transportation industry forced a number of students to remain at home during the examination period. Sir Satcan praised in particular the individual operators who helped the government in the difficult moments. The "gurus" of Paul Berenger are the leaders in the Seychelles, Madagascar and Cuba, Sir Satcan said. He added that Paul Berenger wanted to establish a communist regime in Mauritius. Sir Satcan expressed the hope that Sir Seewoosagar will guide the Labor Party in the coming general elections, so that the party can win a large majority in the Parliament.

Minister of Education Kher Jagatsingh, said that the Labor Party leadership chose the Flacq district to celebrate the 40 years of Sir Seewoosagar's political life because it is an "historic" spot for the liberation of the workers. Mr. Jagatsingh said that Sir Seewoosagar succeeded against wind and tide in establishing political independence in Mauritius. All of the institutions of the country have been solidly maintained, he added. He further added that Sir Seewoosagar did not utilise power for his personal ends as the majority of African chiefs of state do. On the contrary, he established democracy and socialism in Mauritius. Mr. Jagatsingh said that it is thanks to Sir Seewoosagar that Mauritius has a 500,000 ton sugar quota on the Common Market.

According to Mr. Jagatsingh, Sir Seewoosagar is a highly respected individual internationally. He said that to honor the father of the nation, a garden will be established on the very spot where Sir Seewoosagar was born in Belle Rive. Mr. Jagatsingh was categorical in saying that it is necessary to combat the MMN at all costs, in order to block the path of communism.

Sir Harold Walter, minister of external affairs, for his part, devoted his address to criticisms of the MMN. He took advantage of this opportunity to pay vibrant homage to Sir Seewoosagar and noted the struggle he undertook.

Thanking his colleagues, Sir Seewoosagar said that the Labor Party will win the coming general elections with an overwhelming majority. The Labor Party, he said, works with love and precision, unlike the other parties in the opposition. Sir Seewoosagar added that the Labor Party worked as a single team to bring independence to the country. He asked those present not to believe the words of the MMN, since that party wants to deceive the people. The only desire of the MMN, Sir Seewoosagar said, is to win power, whatever it takes.

Social, economic and cultural stability is a fact in Mauritius. The Labor Party has established democracy and freedom of expression. You must follow the Labor Party, for it is the only guarantee of freedom and peace, Sir Seewoosagar remarked. He added that "if by some evil chance the Good Lord puts the MMN in power, it is good-bye to elections. We must advance with the Labor Party."

The celebration was attended by ministers Veerasamy, Bussawon, Saccaran, Seetaran, Ramchurn, Purryag, Peeroo, parliamentary secretaries Jean-Claude Augustave, Mooneswar Hurry and Claudel Malherbe, and deputy Mahmood Tally.

## Electoral Fever Begins

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 28 Nov pp 1, 4

[Text] The word "picket" is heard again from the lips of everyone in political circles. Who will run where and under what manner? As the 1981 election period approaches, electoral fever is spreading through the country. For the time being, the party general staffs are for the most part uncommunicative on electoral issues. In fact, the truth is that they are not yet sure of anything. A small survey we made of the general staffs of the parliamentary parties (MMM), PT [Labor Party], PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party], PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party], shows that this is still a time of drafting major guidelines for the electoral strategy to be adopted and "grooming" certain likely candidates, and the stage of official slates is yet to come.

When questioned by LE MAURICIEN, Mr. Aneerood Jugnauth, president of the MMM and leader of the opposition, said that "electoral fever is beginning to take over the country, and," he specified, "we are stepping up our activities on the district level."

Mr Jugnauth officially confirmed that this party sent about a dozen possible candidates "into the field" and that other names "are on the list" of probable candidates.

### Some Well-Known Names

We learned on the other hand that Mr Ramesh Fulena, whose name has been frequently mentioned recently as a probable MMM candidate, will not run. He will remain in the Mauritian diplomatic service abroad. Dr J. Cuttaree had been mentioned for the 13th District (Riviere des Anguilles-Souillac) where he will run on the slate with Dr Swaley Kasenally and Mr Suren Poonith. Dr Cuttaree, who has a doctorate in agriculture, is also a member of the Mauritian bar. He was assistant warden of forests. However his candidate will not have unanimous support.

Mr Ramesh Seereekissoon, who was affiliated with Mr. Fulena, one of the militants in the early 70's, but who subsequently was employed in the diplomatic service, was sent back a few weeks ago to the 16th District (Vacoas-Floreal) as an inspiring candidate. There is keen opposition evidenced currently against his candidacy, as was the case in certain MMM circles with regard to Mr Fulena. Therefore nothing is yet definitive at this stage where he is concerned.

The current tendency with the MMM general staff is to stress discipline. Mr. Aneerood Jugnauth, asked about this, told us: "We will not choose the first to appear. We do not want a recurrence of the Coonjan or Moorta episode." There is talk in the MMM of "purging" the party "once and for all."

Various lists of candidates of an unofficial nature are circulating among base level militants. One suggestion is Mr Mathieu Lacle, former lord-mayor, as candidate for District 1 (Port Louis-Grande Riviere). But nothing is certain as yet, particularly since the seat left vacant with the resignation of Mr. Jack Bizlall is much sought after, being regarded as "certain."

On the other hand, Mr Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, who recently resigned from the government to work as a prospective MMM candidate, has not yet been assigned a definite district. The party is hesitating about a number of possibilities with regard to him: The 16th (Vacoas-Floreal), the 8th (Moka-Military Quarter), the 1st (Port Louis-Grande Riviere), and the 19th (Stanley-Rose Hill), where he might replace Mr Vijaye Venkatasamy if he does not run as a candidate.

A certain number of deputies may not be put on any ticket, it is being said both at the party base and on other levels. This base, moreover, challenges a number of names mentioned as possible candidates, confirmed or not.

#### Strategy and Financing of the Alliance

Where the Alliance (PT-FMSD) is concerned, the discussions on the means of reaching electoral agreement between the two parties are still "on the highest level," we were told, i.e., on the level of the main traditional promoters of the electoral campaign of the FMSD and the Labor Party. These discussions have to do above all with the joint strategy to be drafted to oppose the MMM and the financing of the electoral campaign.

In the FMSD, Mr. Gaetan Duval explained to us that "it is not the electoral tickets which count most for our party." The main objective of the FMSD, Mr Duval said is to "block the path of the MMM." He stressed that this goal prevails over partisan interests within the FMSD.

Referring to the 1976 election figures, Mr Duval said that he is persuaded that the Alliance will win in the 1981 electoral contest. The estimates of the FMSD lead to the following conclusion where certain districts in which the FMSD ranked relatively high in 1976 are concerned: the total of the labor and FMSD votes in 1976, even if much reduced, will not have fallen below the level needed for victory in a joint struggle. Thus the districts of Mahabourg, Rose Hill, Vacoas-Floreal and Port Louis (Nos. 1 and 2) would according to these calculations be won by the Alliance.

"On condition, of course," The FMSD general staff said, "that the electoral campaign is well organized and that the PT avoids the scandals and the underhanded dealing which tarnished it recently and that it rebuilds its image."

#### Six Labor Party Regions

Where the Labor Party is concerned, those responsible for the electoral campaign have already divided the country into six regions:

1. Port Louis (Districts 1-4).
2. North (5-7).
3. Center-East (8-10).
4. South-Southwest-West (11-14), and Hautes Plaines Wilhems (15-17).
5. Basses Plaines Wilhems (18-20 and Rodrigues).



The Center-East region was the point of departure for the Labor Party electoral campaign last Sunday. Another regional congress is planned for 21 December within the context of this campaign, in the North (at Triolet) for the Triolet-Pamplemousses (5), Grand Baie-Poudre d'Or (6) and Riviere du Rempart-Goodlands (?) districts.

When there is talk of the electoral ticket in the labor ranks, it is suggested in certain circles that there will be many "changes," but there is little precision. Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the party leader, is cautiously awaiting the results of discreet surveys he routinely had made before making a decision concerning the ticket allocations. He has let it be understood that the party should support many young candidates. It is said that Mr. A. V. Chettiar, a deputy for the 16th District, will resign, and that Mr. Sooreah Moortha will be the candidate on the ticket for that district to replace Dr. Beedassy, one of the PSM leaders today.

The fact remains that some deputies and even ministers may be faced with "unpleasant surprises," it is said in certain labor circles, when the electoral tickets are finally drafted.

The task of preparing the list of candidates will be entrusted to a "select committee" made up of the party executive body, the leader and certain influential regional "advisors." It will fall to the party leader, Sir Seewoosagur, to make a final decision.

#### The Symbols Issue

On the level of the Alliance, which has been definitively established, there is also thought of the choice of symbols for the candidates of the two parties. It was decided in principle that in the districts in which two out of three of the candidates will be from the PMSD, the symbol will be the PMSD cock, and that in those in which the labor candidates are in the majority, the symbol used will be the key. Therefore in Curepipe-Midlands, the Alliance symbol will probably be the cock, as will be the case in Rose Hill and Port Louis. In two other cities, Quatre-Bornes and Vacoas, the symbol will probably be the key, with two or even three labor candidates in some cases.

The general staffs of the two parties seem to have derived some lessons from what happened in Curepipe-Midlands in 1976, when the voters were urged by the laborites to vote for the symbols including two keys and a palm tree. They believed that with two symbols, the task of the average voter is complicated. He may either make an error in voting, thus unwittingly voiding his ballot, or will succumb to the temptation to cast his vote for the opponent.

#### PSM Officials to Resign

Mr. Harish Boodhoo, of the PSM, when questioned about the electoral ticket assignment in his party, told us the following: "We have already about 30 aspiring candidates under consideration. There will be a selection of candidates based on various demanding criteria. The majority of our potential candidates are state officials, although they help us. They will resign when the time comes for them to do so."

Mr. Boedhoe believes that "candidates should not be imposed on the electorate." Therefore the JNM delegate in each district will nominate the candidates, and the central committee of the party will do no more than make suggestions to them. The delegates will make their own decision." The candidates will be chosen on the basis of the following criteria: integrity, competence, patriotism, their vision of the island of Mauritius in the year 2000, wisdom, the capacity for work and making sacrifices, and public image."

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## POLITICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL OFFENSIVE NEEDS REACTIVATION

Beira NOTICIAS DA BEIRA in Portuguese 30 Nov 80 p 2

(Editorial: "Step Up the Offensive")

(Text) There are those who say--and they are certainly mistaken--that "another offensive is needed," to shake up the government agencies and the state and private enterprises, an offensive of the type that was conducted in the first 3 months of this year, according to some people.

We were told the other day that things were good then, because many problems were solved and the culprits went to jail, where many of them are "paying" for their crimes against the people. Tried or not, found guilty or not, they have been detained for several months, demonstrating a sluggishness, justifiable or not, in the complex bureaucracy of government organs.

We feel this line of thought is erroneous, because such a position actually indicates a misunderstanding of the ideology of the Political and Organizational Offensive as it was intelligently created. Defined as an ongoing process, the offensive does not consist of bursts of dynamism, activity or force of will by one or another leader. The offensive is an integral part of our daily life.

Some people have mistakenly believed that with the first phase of the offensive, conducted between January and March, the great national problems were solved. When the warehouses were "raided" and many products were found spoiling there because they had not been distributed and sold, some people thought that the warehouses and their workers, and not other factors, were to blame for all the bottlenecks.

While it is true that there were products spoiling in the warehouses over many months, the fact is that the solution to many problems is increased production and productivity, and people should be aware of this. Thus, a campaign should be conducted in the production units, against disorganization, lack of discipline, liberalism and all negative and harmful manifestations.

If the "offensive is to be aggressive," it must be permanent. Everyone must be a part of it--ministers, national directors, provincial directors, company directors, agency heads, sector chiefs and workers in general. The offensive consists in the transmission of the political and cultural values that, accepted and put into practice, will gain a new dynamic and create the material conditions for the rapid and harmonious development of society and the nation's economy.



"To pursue the offensive" is the task of everyone, and not a restricted group of individuals. The offensive is not simply a matter of "raiding" this or that work place and arresting this or that official. The offensive is a matter of changing ways of thinking, of eliminating the underdeveloped mentality that exists in many of us. The offensive is not a matter of painting buildings, setting out plants, arranging flowers, cleaning away cobwebs, sweeping the floors, scrubbing the office and putting pictures on the walls. Although we agree all this is important, the offensive has a broader purpose. The shake-up should really be in our heads. It consists in changing, in creating new methods and new behavior, eliminating egotism, combating bureaucracy, showing up for work, trying to be as efficient as possible, keeping sober, not being cocky or opportunistic. Thus, the offensive must be constant; it must be lived every day, reshaping our habits and our behavior.

We think the misinterpretation of the spirit and content of the Political and Organizational Offensive (not to say that our interpretation here is correct or as correct as possible) deserves particular attention from our leaders. We have the distinct feeling that the offensive exists only on paper or in speeches at rallies or in motions of support.

We have to activate the offensive and reap the practical results. A provincial director linked to one of the most important sectors of the economy recently told us that the offensive is proceeding, but at a snail's pace, which is not good, as he acknowledged. If this is wrong, why was it not corrected long ago?

It is essential to intensify the offensive, above all because there are still those who misinterpret it, consciously or unconsciously, through ignorance or not. It is imperative to dynamize the offensive. It is necessary to shake up our lives to achieve the results we all desire. Where do we begin? It is only a question of defining priorities. One more meeting is enough.

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CSO: 4401

## TEXT DEFINES NATURE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Dec 80 p 2

[Text] The following text regarding the people's democratic state is published as directed by the Coordinating Nuclei and Monitors of the State Policy Study Groups.

People's democracy is a transition stage between capitalism and socialism. The tasks to be executed during the transition period, known as popular democracy, pertain to the elimination of various manifestations of the capitalist system and the creation of the ideological, technical and material foundations for the socialist society. A basic task is the elimination of the old state apparatus. (Central Committee Report to the Third Congress, p 72; articles 2 and 4 of the constitution, exemplified in laws 6 and 7/78)

### Definition and Nature of Class in the Mozambican State

Since the state is an instrument of power of the ruling class, it is designed and structured to serve and protect the interests of that class.

Following national independence and the establishment of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the class structure of power was altered, and this power is now exercised for the benefit of the large working masses, led by their revolutionary vanguard, FRELIMO.

To insure that the state implements the policy of the leading party, it is necessary to tear down the former structures and to build the new state, whose organs of power and apparatus are capable of bringing about the new social order and reflecting the new power structure. (Detailed discussion of People's Assemblies)

The constitution of the republic defines the Mozambican state as a state of the workers and peasants. (Art 2)

### Party's State Leadership Role

The party is the directing force of the state; these are two distinct and separate entities. The party is the superior force in organizing the working classes, while the state is the principal instrument for the implementation of party policy.

Forms in which the party manifests its leadership of the state:

- a) Party decisions are the obligatory base for the work of the state organs.
- b) The constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the basic law, consecrates the party's directing role over the state.
- c) The party committee guides the work of the state organs at every territorial level.
- d) Cadre Policy

The party determines which cadres shall assume responsibility for various sectors of activity; it directs and supervises their activity and calls for an accounting of that activity.

- e) The party organizes its cells within the state organs and their apparatus, to direct political work and to dynamize and monitor implementation of the program.

#### Principles of Functioning of the Organs of Government

The constitution of the republic defines the principles of the functioning of the organs of government in Article 38.

#### Unity of Power

This is a concept developed by Marx to define the class nature of the state. The state is an instrument of power of the ruling class. The exercise of power is indivisible. (constitution, Art 33) The people are sovereign. Unity of power is essential to bring about in practice the ideological and class unity of the state under the leadership of the party. (Central Committee Report to the Third Congress, p 147)

Unit of power is guaranteed by ideological unity and the application of strict discipline in the execution of higher-level decisions.

Unity of power is insured by the function of the party organs at the level of the state apparatus, by party control of the directors and cadres, by systematically oriented political study (see GESPAL), and by periodic meetings between higher officials and subordinates for a strict rendering of accounts.

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CSO: 4401

GDR YOUTH LEADER: PARTY WORKING TO FORM GREAT SOCIALIST FAMILY

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 7 Dec 80 p 3

[Report of press conference with Egon Krenz, first secretary of the Central Council of the FDJ (Free German Youth), in Maputo, date not given]

[Text] "In Mozambique, we have seen a party that knows the true aspirations of the people and is concerned with the welfare of all, creating the necessary conditions for the formation of a great socialist family on this continent," said Egon Krenz, first secretary of the Central Council of the FDJ [Free German Youth], describing his impressions of his first visit to our country, following the OMJ [Organization of Mozambican Youth]—FDJ Solidarity Week, which ended days ago in Maputo.

Krenz is a candidate member in the Political Bureau of the SED and deputy in the GDR People's Chamber. During his press conference with national and foreign news media shortly before leaving Maputo, he also noted that FRELIMO is a Marxist-Leninist party, leading Mozambican youth in the lofty goal of engaging all the world's youth in the great youth and student movement, struggling to establish an enduring peace on every continent.

The leader of the GDR youth organization returned to his country Friday night after a 5-day visit to Mozambique at the invitation of the OJM leadership.

Stressing the importance of the agreements signed with the OJM, Krenz noted: "Our youth organizations have now taken more concrete steps for fruitful cooperation in various areas, and we believe the accord will further cement the existing relations between our peoples, parties and governments."

Unforgettable Moments for GDR Youth

Describing his meeting with President Samora Machel on his last day in Mozambique, Krenz said: "Our youth have experienced some unforgettable moments in this country, since our entire delegation was received by the most esteemed and distinguished international friend of the peoples, President Samora Machel.

"It was a rare opportunity in the history of our organizations and our relations with other socialist countries," Krenz said further, adding that Machel's personal contribution in strengthening friendly relations between the peoples of

Mozambique and the GDR and his role in the struggle for popular liberation "make the Mozambican leader the most distinguished youth." In the GDR, this is the youth who "carries out to the letter the ideals of Artur Beck, and is awarded the 'Artur Beck' medal of distinction by the FDJ Central Council."

Summarizing the OJM-FDJ Solidarity Week, the first one organized by the Mozambican and German youth, Krenz stressed that wherever he went in the three provinces he visited, he found "the same warm friendliness. The heirs, the youth, expressed solidarity and the happiness of the people through the country's revolutionary songs and dances."

In conclusion, the leader of the German Youth organization reiterated that his visit to Mozambique bears witness to the great friendship of the German people, friendship which has existed since the time of Mozambique's armed struggle for national liberation. He declared: "We hope that, by this visit, the relations of friendship and cooperation between the OJM and the FDJ will be even further cemented."

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## RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON CHURCH ATTENDANCE, RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6 Dec 80 p 7

[Text] **THE VERY REV DAVID BRUNO**, formerly director of the Mission of the Anglican Church in southern Africa and now dean in the diocese of Namibia, recently visited Mozambique and found restrictions to be more formal than before.

But there was a new confidence among church members, he said, and his report — adapted here from a church publication — holds out hope for the future.

Responding to the situation in Mozambique, Anglican Archbishop Hill Burnett has said there is no cause for fear over the future of the church in southern Africa.

He on the one hand rejects attempts to bring the church into "the anti-communist status quo laager" in response to the situation. On the other, he rejects the argument that "You will be hammered like the church in Maputo if you don't now without reservations identify with a particular liberation movement."

Difficulties facing the church in Mozambique today seem more formalised than they were during my last visit three years ago.

In my tour of the southern diocese of the small Anglican church in Mozambique — the Diocese of Lebombo — I became conscious of a number of ways in which pressure on Christians was making their witness more difficult and church life more restricted.

With the Bishop of Lebombo, the Rt Rev Denis Sengulane, I travelled more than 4 500 km inside the country and worshipped with 27 different congregations often scattered remotely in rural areas, with picturesque reed-and-thatch churches often reached by palm-fringed sandy tracks.

Of 117 churches, 28 have been closed — all during 1979.

In one district all four churches have ceased to function. The last, small thatched building in one area was reportedly pulled down by the local militia one night.

Others are closed because of their proximity to schools or hospitals or, as an ambiguous regulation puts it, because they are near a "unit of production."

As it is forbidden to rebuild churches which have fallen down, or to replace those which have been closed, local congregations suffer considerable deprivation.

The government recognises the existence of the church only in the physical presence of a church building.

Gatherings of people for worship in the open air or in private houses are not allowed — making that kind of limitation even more severe, in some ways, than it was for the Early Church. Even the saving of family prayers or grace before meals would constitute an infringement.

Children under the age of 18 may not receive the sacraments of the church — and it requires considerable courage and a strong faith to go ahead "obeying God rather than man" under these conditions.

Where lies the adherence, behind which many of our own church people shelter in South Africa, to "obey the State" when conditions like this face people today?

Bishop Denis is a man of deep spiritual boldness, though the many forces ranged against Christian witness in Mozambique today are formidable and often discouraging.

One of the more frustrating ways in which the State hampers the activities of Christian leaders is the demand for a "travel permit." Every time he leaves his own district to go on church business to another district or another province, he must apply for a permit.

This regulation had been insisted on in only one province before, but while I was there we were



warned while visiting a different province to return to Maputo and obtain the necessary written permission or else face arrest.

Communications are very difficult and the public transport system seems to be in a parlous condition at the moment. Yet in remote rural areas one was constantly astonished at the vitality of the local congregation.

Often in these areas the church bell was also forbidden and the time of a service would have to be calculated by the height of the sun.

The paramount atmosphere which seemed to prevail in most places was one of fear. In one area some local party "thugs" let it be known that anyone daring to set foot in a church would be arrested.

This effectively closed the churches. Only when the bishop learnt about it and visited the area later to conduct services did people, realising that nothing was happening to those who attended, begin drifting back to worship.

Students doing a teachers' course in one district were sent out to work in the fields from 4 am to 10 am on a Sunday morning so that none of them would be able to go to church.

A teacher who objected to derogatory remarks about ministers of religion was "transferred" 100 km away from home, effectively banning him from attending his own church.

The undermining of family life is, presently, a particularly insidious way of causing grave divisions in the home.

Young people are encouraged in some places to "spy" on their families and to report signs of "religious behaviour."

In the schools Christians have a tough time. Mockery and rejection of anything Christian can

make it very hard to bear any kind of meaningful witness. Signs of revolt against this situation could lead to a youngster being sent off into the bush to a "re-education camp."

Against all this the Christian in Mozambique is really having to discover, the hard way, the real meaning of faith.

Perhaps that is why I have rarely seen people, young and old, out of whom have shone so authentically the visible signs of joy.

There is great material poverty. The drought has caused havoc in at least one province and the distribution of produce is not as smooth as it might be.

Yet everywhere we went the hospitality, in even the poorest place, was unbelievably generous. Each congregation seemed to compete with the next for producing large helpings of food. In most places there were gifts as well and always there were songs of greeting.

In spite of the restrictions, and I was more conscious this time that pressure on the church is stronger, one also felt that among those who believed there was a more obvious confidence.

Of course there were signs in many places of the threads which fear had made. Organisations and women and of the youth, unless brought into being by the State, cannot exist.

But the Mothers' Union is still there even if it cannot meet. Young people in spite of the restrictions, were much in evidence. It takes far greater courage than most of us ever have to muster to come forward in defiance of the regulations, and be confirmed — but I was immensely privileged to be present at two such services.

It was for me the young people, with their bright faces, fearless eyes and boundless vitality who epitomised the joyful courage which is still there in our little beleaguered church.

From bouts of depression at the hostile and unpredictable forces ranged against them, I was won over to that hope which goes beyond reason, that goes through the Cross of suffering to that Easter of new life and unending joy.

**BANK GOVERNOR, UNIVERSITY OFFICIAL DISCUSS COOPERATION WITH BRAZIL**

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Dec 80 pp 1-2

[Text] "We have already had some trade relations with Brazil. Now we want to take a step forward, not only promoting trade but moving into a relation of economic cooperation." So said Sergio Vieira, member of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee and minister-governor of the Bank of Mozambique, outlining the main purpose of his trip to the Federal Republic of Brazil, where he paid a 10-day visit.

During his stay in Brazil, the minister-governor of the Bank of Mozambique had an opportunity to meet with members of the government of that Latin American country to discuss economic matters. Vieira met with the ministers of planning, industry and trade, agriculture and transportation, and the minister of mines and energy.

The bank governor also had a chance to meet with the presidents of the Central Bank of Brazil and the National Economic Development Bank. During its visit, Vieira's delegation was received by Joao Baptista Figueiredo, president of the Republic of Brazil.

"In this group of meetings we encountered great readiness by Brazil's to develop relations with Mozambique, and also found new paths for economic cooperation and the promotion of trade relations," the minister-governor added.

Vieira said further: "To sum up, we can say that our visit to Brazil was positive and useful. It was a step forward in the area of cooperation, both for us and for Brazil."

Vieira reported that he joined Saraiva Guerreiro, Brazil's foreign minister, in signing a bill establishing the principles for mutually advantageous cooperation.

**Dean of UEM [Eduardo Mondlane University] Ends Visit**

Fernando Ganhao, dean of Eduardo Mondlane University, also returned to the nation's capital yesterday after a visit of about 3 weeks in the Federal Republic of Brazil.

During his stay, Ganhao, who led a delegation comprising officials of the MEC [Ministry of Education and Culture] and Eduardo Mondlane University, pursued

various activities, principally the definition of areas of cooperation between the two countries in the specific fields of correspondence courses, literacy, adult education, scientific education and higher learning.

Speaking with the nation's news media on his arrival at Mavalane airport, the dean of the UEM said his visit to Brazil was one of study and research, and would contribute significantly to the development of education in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

One of the aspects stressed by the dean, also marking the importance of his visit, was the fact that some scientific publishers had agreed to forward a regular supply of information, and that the means were established to purchase books and some periodicals from Brazil.

"Thus, our libraries at Eduardo Mondlane University will soon have Portuguese-language literature, of Brazilian origin and from other countries, but all translated into Portuguese," Canhao concluded.

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## CABO DELGADO COTTON PRODUCTION STATISTICS

Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese 30 Nov 80 pp 21-22

[Text] In this last agricultural campaign, Cabo Delgado produced almost 14,000 tons of cotton, a noteworthy recovery in relation to last year's campaign. Last year, production was less than 2,000 tons, the lowest figure ever.

The low production in the previous campaign was owing, among other things, to the fact that most of the 1977/1978 crop was not marketed, which led the peasants, particularly the individual farmers who produce 75 percent of all the cotton, to lose interest in this crop.

Fortunately, the lesson did not go unheeded, and the most recent campaign was well-planned. Brigades were sent to the villages to discuss campaign goals with the peasants. In addition, a major operation to enlist the peasants and engage the producers in the socialist emulation campaign contributed to this important achievement in production.

This question of placement is still the major problem faced here. This year, for example, almost 1,000 tons from about 20 villages had still not been placed on the market. The rainy season was approaching and when it arrived, what cotton had not yet been shipped to factories never left. We must also think about building more warehouses.

We see large quantities of cotton sitting out in the open, getting wet and hence losing quality.

This year's production was the largest since independence. Cabo Delgado is tied with Zambezia Province for second place in the country's cotton production indices. Nampula is first, producing about 50 percent of all the cotton. Most of the cotton is produced on family farms, however, and each of the other two provinces has three times as many inhabitants, as well as much larger production zones, than Cabo Delgado Province. Thus the production achieved here is praiseworthy.

### Different Sectors, Different Yields

It is interesting to note the different yields achieved in cotton crops from the existing sectors. The state and private sectors produce an average of 900 kg per hectare; the cooperative sector produces 500 kg per hectare; and for family farms

the yield is only 250 kg per hectare. Undoubtedly, this has to do with scientific know-how and the technical means available.

In this province, the cotton is distributed to the two cotton gin mills at Montepuez and Mahate. The latter plant has been idle since 1972, and was put into operation this year. At these plants the raw cotton is turned into fiber cotton. A small part is for domestic consumption and the rest is exported. Every 3 tons of raw cotton yields 1 ton of fiber cotton. The textile plant planned for Montepuez will use 3,000 tons of fiber cotton per year.

TABLE

The tables illustrate the development of the cotton campaigns since 1972, and the quantities produced in the last two campaigns and the goals of the next campaign by sector. The table indicates how much weight the family sector still has, and the differences in yield from the different types of property.

69/70	14,288,346 tons	75/76	7,060.9 tons
70/71	13,650.7 "	76/77	5,527.3 "
71/72	3,938.7 "	77/78	9,914.6 "
72/73	16,898.8 "	78/79	1,816.5 "
73/74	11,574.5 "	79/80	13,469.0 "
74/75	5,485.8 "		

78/79		79/80		80/81	
Family	385 tons	54,754 Ha/9,500 tons		60,000 Ha	12,000 tons
Private	142 "	1,373 " 1,241 "		700 "	700 "
Cooperative	-	431 " 28 "		215 "	80 "
State	1,289 "	3,058 " 2,700 "		3,600 "	3,600 "

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## MARKETING DIFFICULTIES AFFECT CATTLE SECTOR

Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese 30 Nov 80 p 5

[Excerpts] The national Cattle and Hide Marketing Enterprise was created in June 1979. In addition to marketing the cattle from the family, state and private sectors, the company also handles skins, both wild and domestic. It is also responsible for the importation and sale of stud bulls on request.

The company's Zambezia office was created a year ago, and is encountering serious problems, making it difficult to carry out its activities as planned.

Speaking recently on the Radio Mozambique provincial station in Zambezia, Bernardo Romela, provincial director for the company, said: "The transport problem is the main difficulty. The available trucks are simply not appropriate for the work we are doing. This is because the cargo capacity is very limited, holding 10 to 15 head at most, depending on their weight." He continued: "We cannot work with only two trucks for the four provinces we serve."

In the discussion of this topic, we learned that, of the 4,000 head of cattle the sector should have marketed this year, only 1,159 head were sold, or just 34 per cent of the established goal.

Referring to the marketing of the cattle, Romela added: "The marketing is centered on the business, state and private sectors. In the family sector, which should be producing more, the herd is weakening because we have not managed to market it yet."

Regarding the cattle supply, "there is the problem of financing, which we consider very important," the official said. "In general we have no problem, because up to now we have received full support from the State Bank. The central problem here is that the borrowers are falling behind in their payments."

Meanwhile, the question of the price of beef paid to the producer, which was very low, was solved when the new price table went into effect. This drought period has also created marketing problems because some farmers are reluctant to sell their property.

The districts in Zambezia with the highest cattle production indices are Mopeia, Morrumbala, Namacurra, Chinde and Quelimane. For skins, the highest production is in Quelimane, Mocuba and Gurue, with a small quantity in Maganja da Costa.

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## BRIEFS

**MACHEL VISITS STUDENTS IN USSR**--President Samora Machel paid a visit to Mozambican students who attend a local military academy in Frunze. After touring the facilities of the school and learning about the methods by which our students are being taught, Machel went to a room where the students were waiting for him, singing songs of our revolution. Although the schedule for the visit was delayed for an hour, the Mozambican leader addressed the students, stressing the important role these future cadres will play when they return to their country. "Your mission is to be teachers. We are no longer sending people to the USSR to acquire basic knowledge. They are coming to the Soviet Union to specialise. Hence, when you return to Mozambique, your basic task will be to teach," said President Machel. On that occasion, the highest leader of the Mozambican revolution noted that the USSR has assisted in the military training of the Mozambicans since the time of the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. "At that time they came to learn how to use an automatic rifle. Now they come to learn how to use more sophisticated weapons. The responsibility is greater," President Machel declared. Before he concluded his impromptu speech, Marshal Machel said that the study of Marxism-Leninism was obligatory for Mozambican students. "We do not want just progressive officers in our army. The progressive takes a correct position on questions in principle, but when we wish to carry revolutionary theory into practice, he does not go along with us. Nor do we want anyone who is simply a revolutionary. Not every revolutionary is a communist. True, he changes the world, but he does not achieve the final goal, which is communism, whereas the communist is always a revolutionary and always a progressive," President Machel concluded. The Mozambican students gave a hat and a chess set to the president as a souvenir of the visit. [Text] [Maputo *TEMPO* in Portuguese 30 Nov 80 pp 12-13] 6362

**BEIRA GRAIN WAREHOUSES**--Warehouses with a storage capacity of 15,000 tons of grain will soon be built in Beira. The construction is part of the food security program of the RPM [People's Republic of Mozambique], to insure a continuing supply of these essential products. This will also avert critical shortages of these grains, in case of national disasters, for example. The warehouse construction represents the first of eight projects, to provide the country with storage capacity for 60,000 tons of grains. The construction will be carried out under the supervision of the Domestic Trade Ministry, with technical assistance from the FAO and financing from Switzerland. [Text] [Maputo *TEMPO* in Portuguese 30 Nov 80 p 2] 6362

AGREEMENT WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA--Mozambique and Czechoslovakia signed a cultural and scientific cooperation accord yesterday in Prague. The agreement was signed by Antonio Branco, our minister of industry and energy, and by Czechoslovakia's foreign affairs minister. The cooperation takes in the areas of science, education, information, health, physical education and sports. The Mozambican minister of industry and energy is in Prague to attend the second session of the Mozambican-Czechoslovak Joint Commission. (Text) [Beira NOTICIAS DA BEIRA in Portuguese 28 Nov 80 p 1] 6362

FISHING BOAT RECOVERED--The industrial fishing vessel belonging to the Mozambique-Soviet joint enterprise MOSOPESCA, which ran aground and remained half-submerged in the Bay of Maputo for 15 days, was brought to the surface last Saturday and is now moored at the port authority dock, awaiting needed repairs. Although the damage from the wreck has not yet been calculated, it is known to amount to several thousand contos. A committee of inquiry has already been formed, which should conduct the necessary investigation and expert examination to make an exact determination of the real causes of the accident and to assign responsibility. According to some data we have received, the grounding could have been caused by a poorly executed maneuver, which left the ship grounded for 15 days. To recover the ship, it was necessary to design and carefully execute a lengthy salvage operation involving the maritime authorities, Mozambique Electric, the dredging and metalworking companies and members of the ship's crew. The operation involved the use of various pumping equipment to keep the ship watertight while it was being righted and brought afloat. As one of the technicians who directed the operations told us, this was the first successful operation using local means. (Excerpt) [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 9 Dec 80 pp 1-2]

POLITICAL TRAINING FOR MILITARY--In Beane yesterday, Lt Col Alberto Joaquim Chipande, member of the Permanent Political Committee of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee and the nation's minister of defense, presided over the closing ceremony for the Third Political-Technical Training Course for anti-aircraft artillery personnel, conducted since 2 June at that military training center. Also attending the ceremony were Maj Gen Joao Americo Mpfumo, commander of the air force, and other high officials of the FPLM [Popular Force for the Liberation of Mozambique]. "The oath you have taken signifies the spirit of national unity. You have pledged to build socialism in Mozambique and to be an instrument in the defense of popular power," said Minister Chipande. The defense minister added that this course is included in the goals defined by the third party congress. "Hence," said Chipande, "as we close this course we reach the goal defined by the Third FRELIMO Congress regarding the training of anti-aircraft artillery troops." Following the closing ceremony, the instructors and graduates presented a donation in the amount of 27,375.50 meticals, representing their voluntary contribution in aid to the drought victims. During the closing ceremonies, some of our traditional folk songs were presented, following which two messages were read, one from the school and one from the students of the course. (Text) [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Dec 80 p 2] 6362

SWAPO CHIEF SAM NUJOMA DISCUSSES CURRENT SITUATION

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 Nov 80 p 3

[Text of interview with Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organisation, by Joao Miranda, date and place not given]

[Text] The current situation in Namibia has been a major topic in the world's leading newspapers, in light of the increasing world isolation suffered by the Pretoria regime because of its continued occupation of Namibia and its policy of racial segregation and apartheid.

After a period which could be described as lukewarm, with contacts between the "five", the United Nations and the South African regime on one side and SWAPO and the Front Line countries on the other, UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim has intensified efforts, within the framework of Security Council Resolution No 435, to arrive at a viable solution to the Namibian problem. On 20 October, a personal representative of Dr Waldheim was in Pretoria to negotiate with authorities in South Africa, which is illegally occupying Namibia. Some days earlier, Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO, paid a visit to the FRG at the invitation of the foreign affairs minister of that Western European country, one of the major supporters of the cruel and racist Pretorian regime. Days before the UN secretary general's representative went to Pretoria, the South African press circulated reports that the Pretorian authorities would sit down at the negotiating table with SWAPO, in a Lusophone African country.

These and other questions pertaining to the "explosive and dangerous" situation in Namibia led us to get in touch with the president of SWAPO, to learn about the actual situation with respect to the decolonization process in Namibia.

During our meeting, the Namibian leader denounced the wide variety of maneuvers and machinations by which the imperialists have sought to halt Namibia's rise to true independence. Nujoma declared that his organization was ready at any time to sit down with the racist South African Government to negotiate the future

of the Namibian people, who have been conducting an armed struggle for 14 years against the colonialist and fascist occupation of their land.

The SWAPO leader vehemently condemned the drive that is now being conducted inside Namibia to create puppet political units under the auspices of South Africa, as an alternative means to arrive at a neocolonialist solution for Namibia. Sam Nujoma also denied the reports and rumors appearing in a certain Western newspaper on the alleged meeting between the Angolan authorities and the racist Pretorian regime. Nujoma called these reports delaying tactics, employed by the imperialists to mislead world opinion about the real situation in Namibia. "The position of the People's Republic of Angola regarding the liberation of southern Africa is clear, and we are sure and confident that we will continue to receive support in every form from the brother people of Angola and the MPLA-Labor Party", Nujoma declared.

JORNAL DE ANGOLA: Comrade President Nujoma, in an overview of the situation of Namibia now, how would you describe the present status of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people, and what are the immediate prospects for its development?

Sam Nujoma: The present situation in Namibia is extremely explosive and dangerous, since the South African racists have intensified the tortures and imprisonments, detention and other atrocities against SWAPO leaders, members and sympathizers. These odious acts have been perpetrated by a special commando group, composed of blacks and whites, which has been trained in Binudi, near Pretoria, and in Durban. The special commandos are placed mainly in rural areas in northern Namibia, where they attack and burn the dwellings of Namibian citizens, particularly members and sympathizers of our organization, as well as Namibian intellectuals, such as doctors, nurses, teachers, clergymen and businessmen.

The racist South African regime has begun to use these methods to repress and assassinate intellectuals because it knows it has lost. The purpose of murdering Namibian intellectuals is to deprive our country of responsible citizens, cadres capable of assisting in national reconstruction, since the days of the racist administration in our country are numbered. The racists have drawn up a list of SWAPO leaders who are to be assassinated, in addition to those who have already been imprisoned for several years in the cells of Robbin Island, like our courageous Comrade Herman Toivo ya Toivo, and in many other South African penitentiaries. Other comrades on the black list are now limited to fixed residence in Windhoek.

Despite this wave of repression and assassination of SWAPO leaders and members, the Namibian people are more than ever determined to struggle against the illegal occupation of their land and for true independence.

JORNAL: And how has the people's determination to expel the South African racists been manifested inside Namibia?



Nujoma: In various ways. Quite recently, during the celebration of the 14th anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle in Namibia, those of our members and sympathizers who had not yet fallen into the hands of the hangmen organized a great political rally in the south of the country. Hundreds of people took an active part in this rally, and by the photographs sent to us from the city of Kermanshoop, we can see the enthusiasm of the popular masses, young people parading in uniforms with SWAPO colors, expressing the will and determination of our people to combat the South African enemy by every means, under the leadership of our organization, until final victory. I can say that southern Namibia is already a liberated zone, not militarily but politically. In the south of the country, the people, led by Comrade Hendrick Witbooi, boycotted the racist initiatives to establish so-called Bantu schools, and chose instead to improvise independent schools.

JORNAL: Comrade President, who is Hendrick Witbooi?

Nujoma: Hendrick Witbooi is our militant. He is, let us say, the leader of the people in the south of our country. He is a traditional authority who is highly respected by the popular masses. He is a clergyman and teacher. Although he is now under house arrest, he has been able to mobilize the masses regarding the need to struggle for complete independence. In that part of the country, the people are carrying out the directives of their revolutionary vanguard, SWAPO. They have been developing a self-sufficient agriculture as a way of resisting the foreign, fascist occupation. They are also creating their own hospitals and developing many other revolutionary initiatives.

JORNAL: How has the South African Government reacted to this determination by the people of southern Namibia?

Nujoma: Naturally, the racists and fascists of Pretoria have countered very fiercely, withholding the salaries of teachers and medical and paramedical personnel in the region. They have also withdrawn subsidies from the schools and hospitals. These repressive measures have in no way discouraged the people; on the contrary, they have increased the people's hatred of the fascists who are illegally occupying their country, robbing their wealth and spoiling their land. These and other demonstrations of the heroism of our people have led the Pretoria government to intensify the atrocities against defenseless people, and to refuse to cooperate with the United Nations.

JORNAL: On 20 October, a personal representative of UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim was in Pretoria to negotiate with the South African authorities regarding Namibia's political future. Could you say something about the results of these discussions?

Nujoma: We have very vague, very imprecise information, because we have not yet received any report or information from the secretary general. We are waiting for these reports, and only then will we know anything specific about the results of the UN mission to South Africa.

We have learned, however, that the racist Pretorian regime is imposing unacceptable conditions, and in refusing to implement Security Council Resolution 435. South Africa is playing for time. The Pretoria government hoped to wait out the results of the presidential elections in the United States, which Reagan won, but as far as the Namibian people and SWAPO are concerned, this makes no difference. It would make no difference to us if Carter or, as it happened, Reagan had won the elections. Our struggle is just and, above all, it has the support of the Namibian popular masses, the Front Line African countries, the OAU, the nonaligned countries and the overwhelming majority of the UN member nations.

JORNAL: Could you mention some of the conditions that are unacceptable to SWAPO for the decolonization of Namibia? You alluded to such conditions earlier.

Nujoma: One of the conditions for the implementation of Resolution No 435 is that the SWAPO combatants would have to leave Namibia and gather in the People's Republic of Angola, and that the UNITA puppets should take part in the negotiations to carry out the UN plan for a demilitarized zone. This is unacceptable to us. The SWAPO guerrillas are in Namibia to free their country from the colonial occupation, from fascist oppression and repression. They will never leave their country. If the South African racist regime feels it is unable to drive the SWAPO combatants out, it is not up to the United Nations to try to make them leave their country, their Namibia. We will resist with all our might South Africa's continued illegal occupation of our country and all the maneuvers and machinations to thwart our struggle and divert us from the goals for which we are struggling.

As for the UNITA puppets, we know they are cheap tools in the service of racist South Africa. They have no base at all, and do not control any area in the south of the People's Republic of Angola, as the racists would have the world believe. The UNITA bandits are in South African military camps, specifically in Grootfontein, Rundu, Ondagua and other locations. They are taken from these areas into the sovereign territory of the People's Republic of Angola. They are transported in helicopters or trucks by the South African troops, who protect them, indiscriminately shelling economic targets and "kinbos". To assign any importance to UNITA is nothing more than an imperialist maneuver. The peoples of Namibia and Angola know about the imperialist conspiracy to prevent the liberation of Namibia and to destabilize the People's Republic of Angola by means of systematic armed raids from South Africa.

JORNAL: Moves are being made inside Namibia to form political units under the auspices of Pretoria. This action coincides with reports that are being circulated about a possible conference among the parties directly involved in the conflict. According to these reports, the meeting would take place in one of the Portuguese-speaking African countries. Could you comment on this, Comrade President, and on SWAPO's position in the event that South Africa brings its puppets [to the negotiating table]?

Nujoma: SWAPO is on guard against all these maneuvers by the racist Pretoria regime to impose neocolonialist solutions by creating Bantustans, which are already despised. We also know that South Africa created the so-called Council



of Ministers in Windhoek last July, and we vehemently condemn the creation of this Council of Ministers. We also condemn the current elections in Namibia. SWAPO will never recognize this pseudo-Council of Ministers or any other puppet political organizations. As for the participation of puppet political groups in this possible meeting, SWAPO will accept their participation, on principle. On one hand, we are prepared to hold discussions with the Pretoria regime regarding our future, but not to hold discussions with puppets; but if the South African authorities who occupy our land and oppress our people bring the members of the so-called Council of Ministers to the negotiations, we will not object, since the puppets are part of the South African delegation; when all is said and done, they are lackeys of the racist South African regime, and cannot exist without their patrons. The puppets can take part in the negotiations, with their patrons, and we will tell them that Namibia will be liberated either by force of arms or through a negotiable solution. As is known, the Namibian decolonization plan was drafted by Dr Kurt Waldheim, secretary general of the United Nations, in accordance with Security Council Resolution No 435 which provides for a cease-fire between the disputing parties. The plan will go into effect only if the parties involved in the conflict are agreed. The parties involved in the conflict are SWAPO, representing all the people of Namibia, on one side, and racist South Africa, which occupies our land and oppresses our people, on the other. Hence there are two clearly defined positions here. SWAPO will talk about the liberation of Namibia, and South Africa will seek other means to perpetuate colonialism, oppression and the exploitation of the Namibian people, joined by the corporations and multinationals that plunder our mineral wealth. Thus the battle is clearly drawn: South Africa, aided by the major imperialist powers, and SWAPO, struggling with the Namibian people for true independence, with the support of the front line countries in general and the People's Republic of Angola in particular. Therefore, SWAPO is ready to confront the enemy at the conference table--the enemy, with its puppets tagging along, and SWAPO, with the popular masses behind it. We are ready to enter this battle.

JOURNAL: Comrade President, is this meeting imminent?

SWAPO: We have been informed of the possibility of this meeting, but South Africa has not yet made it clear when it might come about.

FOR OUR PART, we are prepared to take part in these discussions at any time.

JOURNAL: Comrade President, you have just finished a trip to some Western European countries, namely, the FRG, one of the main supporters of the Pretoria regime. What led you to make this visit, and what were the results?

SWAPO: Well, we were officially invited by Hans Dietrich Genscher, foreign affairs minister of the FRG. During our conversation with him on 23 October, we expressed our movement's position on the future of Namibia. We asked the FRG to withdraw support from the Pretoria regime and to comply fully with the economic sanctions decreed by the United Nations against South Africa.

Hans Genscher promised us that his government and the German people will turn over a new leaf with respect to supporting SWAPO. We are now waiting to see if the FRG will in fact revise its position regarding our just struggle.

We also took the opportunity to ask the German government to exert its influence on the white colonial minority in Namibia, namely Namibians of German origin, those who are stubborn defenders of the Pretoria regime. The struggle led by SWAPO against the South African occupation of Namibia is a struggle of all the Namibian people, including those of German origin. We made all this clear during our discussions with the Bonn authorities.

JORNAL: Regarding your recent meeting with Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, we noted that you and the president were smiling broadly. Does this have some particular significance for the future of Namibia?

Nujoma: Ha! Well, you know that with the independence of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome e Principe and Cape Verde, and now Zimbabwe, new horizons have opened in the process of freeing Africa from the colonial and imperialist yoke, and we are particularly encouraged by the victories of the brother peoples of these countries. So it is natural that any time we meet with leaders of these people we feel encouraged and certain of our victory.

JORNAL: Comrade President, we would like you to comment on recent allegations and rumors appearing in a certain Western newspaper about a supposed meeting between Angolan authorities and the Pretoria regime.

Nujoma: This is one of the maneuvers of the imperialists and their guard dog, South Africa. The Angolan people daily endure South African bombing attacks, and they have never withdrawn their support for our just struggle. The Angolan position regarding the liberation of southern Africa is clear. Hence we are confident that we will continue to receive support in many forms from the brother people of Angola and the MPLA-Labor Party. I would like, then, to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the fighting people of Namibia, our deep gratitude to the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee, under the dynamic and revolutionary leadership of the late beloved Comrade President Agostinho Neto and his faithful successor, Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, for the support they have given us in liberating our country, illegally occupied by the odious South African regime.

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EFFECTS OF POSSIBLE SWAPO VICTORY, SANCTIONS, DISCUSSED

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 2 Dec 80 p 4

[Article by Dr M. Hough of the Political Department of the University of Pretoria: "Sanctions over Southwest Africa Must Be Prevented"]

[Text] Recent events in Southwest Africa have taken a new turn as a result of the idea of a multipartite conference and as a result of the increasing threat of sanctions against South Africa.

As for the first aspect, this must be looked upon as a possible way of resolving the impasse in the negotiations; however, the idea of a multipartite conference in itself is not without problems. It would appear that although the majority of the so-called "frontline states," the five Western nations and the secretary general of the United Nations are basically supporting the idea, but there are reservations. SWAPO is again presenting the argument that only the South African government and SWAPO should take part in such a conference with Southwest Africa's parties as an element of the South African delegation.

At the same time, the increasing threat of sanctions against South Africa has become more intense and the question is now coming up of how South Africa will have to react to this.

We will have to accept the fact that if SWAPO should ever win an election in Southwest Africa, or assume power at a later stage, the chances are of course, there that they may assume a pro-Russian stand. The first problem is to see to it that if they win an election this will take place in a free and justified manner. If this does indeed take place then South Africa must simply accept it.

After all, there does exist a "working understanding" with Mozambique and has existed for some time. A SWAPO government in Southwest Africa would hardly be able to be completely free of South Africa. Naturally, from a South African point of view and certain parties in Southwest Africa, it would be preferable not to have a SWAPO government, but this possibility must of course be kept in mind.

Resistance

It is also clear that it is important to achieve independence for Southwest Africa as soon as possible. International pressure is mounting, as is the additional

possibility of resistance against South Africa's presence there by groups in Southwest Africa and in South Africa itself. This also means that at this stage South Africa cannot establish any possible relations with Angola.

But it is also the very question of increasing international pressure, especially in the form of sanctions against South Africa, which is giving rise to the question as to what effect this can have on the situation in Southwest Africa.

Due to the nature of this matter, any country would make an effort to avoid sanctions. This is a difficult thing to control and the results are often unpredictable. The country which applies the sanctions often has to pay a great price for this in view of the fact that it would have to look for other sources of supplies and often end up having to pay more for them. This can also lead to unemployment.

### Sanctions

True--South Africa has now been threatened with oil sanctions for some time and specifically over Southwest Africa; but it is also true that this is a difficult thing to enforce in view of the fact that this would have to be accompanied with a blockade of South African ports, for instance. Moreover, the question comes up of how countries such as Lesotho, which are completely surrounded by South Africa, are going to get oil supplies.

On the other hand, an oil ban against South Africa could create certain problems here...for example, the rationing of fuel. It must also be borne in mind that if the Security Council of the United Nations were to make such a decision, it would end up becoming a permanent thing, even if Southwest Africa becomes independent, because the Russians would veto its repeal every time.

### Minerals

It is therefore important that an effort be made to avoid an economic type warfare. If South Africa has no other choice, oil sanctions can of course be countered with a ban on the export of South African strategic materials. Hopefully the threat of oil sanctions will be dispelled, because it must be remembered that South Africa will also have to pay a price if the export of minerals is curtailed and the price would, for example, be the loss of foreign earnings.

The important point, therefore, is to try to prevent the Southwest question from ending up in sanctions and to do this through negotiations. In a certain sense, this will require compromises by both SWAPO and South Africa, because there is a question as to whether an ideal political solution is still possible under the circumstances.

Therefore, serious thought must always be given to the importance of certain conditions for a settlement of the Southwest Africa question and to the possibility of arriving at an agreement. In a sense, South Africa must also accept the fact that the UN General Assembly is prejudiced against the republic. South Africa has even been without a seat in this body for some time.

Although it is only right for South Africa to show that it is simply not going to give in to all the demands on Southwest Africa, it is important that there continue to be a willingness to negotiate.

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## NAMIBIA

### HOUGH SILENT ON RESULTS OF TALKS WITH INTERNAL PARTIES

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 4 Dec 80 p 1

[Text] Last night Administrator General Danie Hough told DIE REPUBLIKEIN that his discussions with the internal political parties over the past few days dealing with the multipartite conference which will be taking place between 7 and 14 January somewhere in Africa "were very illuminating and in certain respects very fruitful."

Hough was asked to give his impressions with respect to the discussions. His reply was: "This provided an opportunity for thinking about the composition of the delegation."

When asked when he thinks that the final decision will be made on the composition of his team for the meeting with SWAPO, Hough replied: "It will still take some time."

He does not think it is appropriate to say anything now about the discussions with the internal parties.

Most of the parties with whom Hough spoke did not wish to make any comments yesterday. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance's main directorate is meeting today to discuss the DTS's talks with Hough.

Mrs Norah Chase of the Namibia National Front (NNF), one of the parties who spoke with Hough late last night, said that the NNF presented their problems to Hough as though he were going to conference as a member of her delegation. Hough understands this.

However, they feel that it is their moral duty to go to the conference.

Last night Mauritius still appeared to be the possible place for the conference with Lusaka second on the list.

It will be a SWAPO team under the leadership of Sam Nujoma and a Southwest Africa team under the leadership of Hough which will be talking to each other under the chairmanship of Brian Urquhart of the United Nations.

This week there were rumors that Nujoma and his people were refusing to come to the conference, because they did not wish to talk with the internal parties, but



last night the word was that they would be there even if the frontline states would have to "drag them there."

If SWAPO refuses to come to this conference it will be a sure thing that the frontline states, the Western powers and the United Nations will turn their backs on them.

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## NAMIBIA

### INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN A FLUID STATE

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 5 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Chris Jacobie: "There Are Now 40 Parties in Southwest Africa"]

[Text] With the founding of two new ones during the past month the number of political parties in Southwest Africa now stands at 40.

Two dissolved parties have been revived and one of the political parties has formed a "church."

The number of political parties having a church now stands at two. Both political parties each with their own church are Herero parties. These are SWANU [Southwest Africa National Union], under the leadership of Gerson Veli, and NUDO [National United Democratic Organization] under the leadership of Kuaima Riruako, both boasting with their own churches.

Recently two political parties were revived. These are the Democratic Peoples Organization of Henry Keib.

In 1974, Keib's group went into exile in Zambia and returned later with nine of his followers. The first thing heard about Keib was a news statement which he issued about a month ago.

Two leaders of black political parties are abroad undergoing additional studies.

They are the secretary of information and publicity, Mokednedi Thlabanello, and Reinhard Rukoro, who held the same position in SWANU and Namibia National Front (NNF).

Both of these parties have representatives in Botswana and provisions have been made for both groups in a refugee camp at Francistown.

### Disturbances

During the past year two parties experienced disturbances in their managements and one of the party presidents resigned.

In the M'DO ranks, Johannes Keriuahe and Rehabeam Uazukuani were suspended and the same thing happened to Mrs Otilie Abrahams and Dr Kenneth Abrahams of SWAPO-D.

At the moment SWAPO-D is the party most affected by disturbances in colored politics. Three of its members have broken away and formed the United Namibia People's Party. After the attempted merger with the NNP the Abrahams couple were suspended and legal advice was obtained with respect to alleged irregularities.

A president of a political party resigned and a member of the same tribe, and his own opponent, was appointed in his place.

Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), resigned and the Ovambo Minister of Works, Peter Kalangula, was appointed to replace him.

#### Bushmen

The group which had never before been politically active, the Bushmen, has now also entered the politics of Southwest Africa and has founded the Original Party of Namibia.

The party which is very much in doubt is the Namibia Young Pioneers Movement. This party came into being among the Damaras as a cultural organization.

Later this became a political party and an opponent of the DTA. Later on, within a period of 6 months, the party was expelled from the DTA and then it was back with the DTA. There is a great deal of uncertainty on what has become of this party, with the exception of the fact that its name appears in the newest telephone directory. Moreover, it is not yet known if it is still a political party.

It is a known fact that after a dispute among the Damaras Mudge said that "If there are problems among the Damaras this would always be over money matters."

Two colored leaders have had the distinction of serving both in the DTA's main directorate and in the main directorate of AKTUR [Action Committee for the preservation of the Turnhalle Principles]. The two individuals, A. J. F. Kloppers and Alex Woodman, are now members of the opposition in the National Assembly.

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TEAM BEING SELECTED FOR MULTIPARTY CONFERENCE IN MAPUTO

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 2 Dec 80 p 1

[Text] Today Danie Hough, the administrator general for Southwest Africa, will start discussions with internal political parties aimed at putting together a delegation for the deliberations with SWAPO which will probably take place in Maputo from 7 to 14 January 1981.

Hough, who conducted talks in Pretoria yesterday, will be having discussions with the internal parties in Windhoek in the course of today and tomorrow.

Besides putting together his delegation, Hough is also expected to discuss with the political parties the way to approach the conference.

The intended Maputo deliberations will be taking place in accordance with a formula found by South Africa and the UN team which recently visited Pretoria and which makes it possible for South Africa and SWAPO to be present together for this.

SWAPO's point of view is that it will not be talking with the internal parties, but with South Africa, while South Africa itself will not be ready to talk with SWAPO.

Now Hough will be leading a Southwest Africa delegation in the name of South Africa. Besides representing South Africa in his capacity of administrator general, he also figures in Security Council Resolution 435 in his capacity of representative of the interim government and the man who, together with Martti Ahtisaari, must see to it that the settlement plan will proceed in an orderly and peaceful manner.

In this capacity Hough will therefore play a key role. As a result of the planned deliberations, the SWAPO bosses are now caught in a straitjacket and they will have to talk with the Southwest parties or back out, but backing out will mean a death blow for SWAPO in the eyes of its friends and those of the Western world.

According to the most recent Waldheim report, no Southwest political parties will be able to go to this conference except as members of the Hough delegation.

This may cause great embarrassment to the people of SWAPO-D and of NOP [sic], because they want to go on their own.

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REPUBLICANS HIT NATIONALISTS 'TERRITORIAL APARTHEID' THINKING

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 2 Dec 80 p 4

[Editorial: "One Namibia, One Nation!"]

[Text] It is a difficult thing to determine what the objective of Attorney Eben van Zijl (he is now apparently the Southwest's functional leader, while A. H. du Plessis is still the symbolic leader) and that of his newspaper is in putting SWAPO's slogan of "one Namibia, one nation" into the mouth of Peter Kalangula and then proceeding to interpret it as they see fit.

But before we get to this let us just try to make some sense out of this confused thinking.

Do they mean something other than the forming of a new Southwest Africa nation? Please tell us. Does AKTUR [Action Committee for the Preservation of the Turnhalle Principles] want a Southwest Africa without a common patriotism? Or do they want one in which all Southwesterners regard themselves compatriots?

We would like to have an answer to these questions.

Just a superficial acquaintance with a reasonably good dictionary might have induced Attorney Van Zijl to hold his tongue.

The word "nation" is principally a political concept. Let us just quote from the Pocket Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language:

NATION: "Group of individuals forming a political unit; any arbitrary collection of people living under the same political organization. The Swiss nation is comprised of sections of different peoples. "Race" represents a biologic unit; "people" a cultural unit, "nation" a political unit."

Would this clear explanation be too hard to digest for Attorney Van Zijl and his newspaper? It would appear to be.

If so, then they must simply accept the fact that all the citizens of a state, regardless of their origin, form one nation. This is a national-political unit, (a nonparty-political one!).

Thus if Attorney Van Zijl and his people do not desire a nation with unitary aims, then what they want is a divided Southwest with various nations within various states. This means that they are going back to territorial apartheid.

"People" as opposed to "nation" is a cultural concept. The dictionary states: "Group of people who through language unity and common historical development possess a clear sense of solidarity. Race is a biological unit; people, a cultural one; and nation, a political unit."

Thus there can be no objection at all against the SWAPO slogan of "one Namibia, one nation" as such. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and AKTUR...and any other party should take it up.

We are saying: "There can be no objection to this slogan as such." But on the other hand, there can and should be objection...and serious objection to the "contents" which a particular party may be giving to this slogan.

For example, SWAPO wants to form its "one nation" by destroying or ignoring the cultural diversity and therefore the diversity of the peoples in the country. This is something to which we cannot agree because of the nature of the problem.

We have said it many times over that we do not regard the formation of a nation as something to take the place of maintaining our diversity of people. The formation or the existence of a Southwest nation does not mean doing away with our diverse population groups.

Now, getting back to the accusation against the DTA president, we note that Kalanguka never used the SWAPO slogan this past Friday and on that occasion he stated clearly that the Southwest is a nation consisting of 11 population groups.

From this point of reasoning, whoever talks of "one Namibia, one nation" has our complete agreement.

Moreover this slogan of "one country, one nation" is as old as the hills and throughout the centuries to come it will still be used thousands of times over again.

The AKTUR organization, one which lacks perspectives and which may share history for only a little while, may perhaps maintain that this was an invention of another temporary organization, and one even more devoid of perspective, called SWAPO.

Now AKTUR's mouthpiece with something like his own cry of "We are for you, Namibia!" will be spewing poison and sowing suspicion just where this is not needed.

...And this while his party wants to undertake new Turnhalle deliberations within the next few weeks.

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OPPOSITION CRITICIZES VAN ZIJL ON MATTERS OF UNITY

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 2 Dec 80 p 1

[Text] Ever since Friday, Attorney Eben van Zijl, the unofficial leader of the Southwest's Nationalist Party, has been getting one rebuttal after the other in the National Assembly.

Ever since Friday, he and his newspaper have been trying to throw suspicion on the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance's (DTA) unity efforts by putting it on an equal footing with SWAPO's cry of "One Namibia, one nation."

Yet, after this exercise of his own, Attorney Van Zijl went on to say that not much of a contribution is made to unity when members of the National Assembly try to point fingers at each other in the course of debates.

He then ran into the final rebuttal, because Dirk Mudge, the chairman of the Ministerial Council, got to his feet and entered the debate. Mudge stated that he agreed with Attorney Van Zijl with respect to pointing fingers in the National Assembly debates. However, this is exactly what Van Zijl and the people of his newspaper are trying to do with respect to Peter Kalangula's address on national unity.

This is what Mudge said: "This is one of those pieces of political opportunism which does not bring us one step closer to a solution."

Attorney Van Zijl's efforts in coupling Kalangula's views with SWAPO are senseless. The truth of the matter is that Kalangula has certainly carried on the fight against SWAPO in the north continuously.

As a result of this, he has probably risked his life on many occasions...so now DIE SUIDWESTER is connecting him with SWAPO.

Just because Kalangula talked about political unity and SWAPO came out with the cry of "One Namibia, one nation" these two have suddenly become one and the same for DIE SUIDWESTER.

The DTA recognizes that the Southwest's population consists of different cultural groups or population groups and this is a fact also recognized by the Turnhalle-deliberations.

The Turnhalle deliberations accepted the fact that the Southwest must become independent as one unit. It accepted the idea of a national anthem for the Southwest.

It has agreed that the country should have only one flag and that the Southwester should have only one citizenship. It has agreed that the country should have only one president.

Furthermore Mudge gave Attorney Van Zijl explanations of the terms "nation" and "people" as contained in a well-known Afrikaans dictionary and said that he was not quoting from a foreign dictionary. "Mr Kalangula is in good company and I am quoting from the Pocket Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language."

In the Southwest, we are moving toward political unity in which we will be having one flag, one national anthem and one president. If people are against this then they will have to reject it; but then they will also be rejecting the policy of the Turnhalle deliberations, stated Mudge.

With respect to human rights, Mudge said that he attaches a great deal of value to the fact that the human being is a creation of God.

"I do not wish to preach and I usually leave this to our reverend member, Mr Pretorius. But I want to say this: If anyone insults and despises one of God's creatures then he is also doing this to the Creator himself."

Both Attorney Van Zijl and Mr Pretorius were at a loss to say anything with respect to Mudge's admonitions. Later Attorney Van Zijl sat with his eyes closed and did not reply.

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APARTHEID IN WALVIS BAY SPORT DEcriED

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 4 Dec 80 p 1

[Text] Walvis Bay--Yesterday Attorney S. S. van der Merwe, the MP for Groenpunt and Walvis Bay, came out saying that Walvis Bay must not become "an island of ultraconservation" which could cause unnecessary friction in this region.

He made this comment after two colored soccer players were ordered out of the town hall on Friday by city clerk Jan Wilken and two policemen.

Attorney Van der Merwe said that he also heard of this incident and he cannot believe the stories that people are now telling. One of these stories alleges that the city clerk had received authorization to apply the Act on Separate Facilities as it suited him.

Carlos De Gouveia, one of the members of the Sparta Soccer Club board of directors admitted to DIE REPUBLIKEIN yesterday that the club is guilty of allowing the two colored soccer players in the town hall without the consent of the city council.

While De Gouveia admitted that they were guilty he refused to make any additional comments. The club will issue a complete statement at a later time.

In the meantime yesterday in the course of a statement Jan Wilken emphasized the point that those people who want to use the hall must apply in writing if they intend to invite people of other color. Mr Wilken stated that "he would do everything in his power in support of such an application on condition that such invitations are limited."

He said that the town hall is located in a region where the Groups Area Act is still being applied.

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CSO: 4408

PARTY LEADER: ECOWAS RULES CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR COUNTRY

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 1 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by Mustapha Tor Waya]

[Text] THE People's Redemption Party (PRP) leader Malam Aminu Kano has called for immediate review of ECOWAS regulations to plug loopholes which cause serious criminal and social problems for our country.

All itinerant Koranic teachers who enter our territory from all parts of West Africa should therefore be registered and their activities monitored properly to prevent any foreign and internal political treachery through their activities.

In a press statement, the PRP leader said the party leadership had seen the supreme necessity for the provision of identity cards for all citizens in order to check the wanton and frequent violation of our country's immigration laws and international convention.

Expressing the party's condolence to victims of the hostilities, Malam Aminu Kano suggested the setting up of a relief fund committee in the state to help all victims of the disaster.

He said the committee should be entrusted to a selected and independent membership of the community adding that the "government of the day" should not interfere in the work of the committee.

He said any effort of the government to help the victims should be made separately.

Malam Aminu Kano said the Federal Government should employ the Land Use Act to acquire a large parcel of land to resettle thousands of people rendered homeless by the fanatical hostilities.

He further said the Federal Government should also release large sums of money in aid of rehabilitation efforts.

The PRP leader warned all state governments to start serious efforts to re-plan traditional cities with an aim to eliminating insecurity and improving health standards of the people.

Malam Aminu Kano commended the law enforcement officers for their sacrifice and gallant performance throughout the period of the hostilities.

Meanwhile the state Police Command has appealed to people whose male relations have been missing to go to the state Police CID in Rompa area to identify them.

In a press bulletin the police said many young boys whose ages varied 10 to 16 years had been liberated after the fall of Malam Matatuwa and his followers.

## GOVERNMENT URGED TO MONITOR AFTER EFFECTS OF MINIMUM WAGE

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 5 Jan 81 p 12

[Text] THE return to civil rule in October 1979 opened a Pandora's box of demands by different categories and groups of workers in the country. The workers see the installation of a democratically elected government as an opportunity for them to exercise one of their constitutional rights which had been kept in the cooler by the military rulers for more than a decade in spite of their tight economic policy.

Even if the demands were genuine no responsible government will allow the germination of labour unrest. The Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) started it all by demanding, among other things, a 300 Naira minimum wage and restoration of direct car loans. By and large the Federal Government considered the issue of minimum wage with despatch and pegged it at 100 Naira while putting into consideration the present state of our economy.

The soaring cost of living had in the past forced workers to agitate for increase in salaries and wages. In 1970, the then Federal Military Government set up the Adebo Wages and Salaries Commission to review the salary and wage structure in view of the socio-economic situation in the country immediately after the civil war; followed by Udoji Commission in 1973, when apparently the workers were disenchanted with the former.

However, Udoji lent more force to inflationary pressure which was already plaguing the economy. The result was that there was too much money chasing very few goods.

Nigeria became dumping ground for electrical gadgets, motorcycles, cars and lace materials that

siphoned our foreign exchange to European countries. Instead of bringing relief to workers, Udoji award aggravated their problems.

The skyrocketed prices of commodities and high cost of living could be traced to the civil war which engulfed the nation between 1967 and 1970. It came with its attendant dislocation of production and the firmness of economic measures that had to be taken in order to conserve the nation's resources. Restrictions had to be placed on imports. Shortages followed a period of heavy spending, particularly on a highly consuming institution like the army.

Just like Professor Akerelele - Ale of the Nigerian Institute of Social Economic Research (N.I.S.E.R.) pointed out in his paper titled "Changes in Nigerian Social Values since 1960", "Nigeria has achieved considerable growth in economic output and in the resources available for development over the period since 1960, a situation which has been due more to a largely fortuitous factor - crude petroleum and its fortune in the world market - than to anything else. Whereas total Federal Government expenditure stood at only 184 million Naira in 1961, it had risen to 1,230 million Naira by 1970 and 11,896 million Naira by 1977, all made possible by the enormous increase in oil revenue."

According to Professor Akerelele-Ale, the actual economic growth achieved was much lower but for the civil war.

For more than a decade, the presence of inflation is mostly felt on house rent, building materials, foodstuffs, and transport. Suffice it to

say that prices of goods and services have been moving at comparatively gradual pace shortly after independence. It is a fact that the monster is a world phenomenon and that the developing countries are most affected.

The profiteering attitude of Nigerian middlemen is the major obstacle that is thwarting the efforts of government in breaking the backbone of inflation. They are the barriers between manufacturers and the consumers. Even the introduction of those in urban centres.

While those working in government establishments have started enjoying the fruit of minimum wage, a lot of those employed in private sectors are still fighting it with their employers to implement the Federal Government policy, which, however, is negotiable.

Some of the private firms, in a bid to meet the demand of minimum wage, had retrenched a lot of their staff. For example, Kaduna Textile Company sacked over 700 members of its staff. This may mean more work for those retained by the company. The Management of Norspan Nigeria Limited, another textile industry based in Kaduna, dismissed its over 3,000 junior and senior staff and closed down the factory. One of the reasons advanced by the management for folding up was the payment of 100 Naira minimum wage.

The minimum wage is a good idea but its aftermath has spelt doom for many workers in the private sector. The NLC has forgotten to put into consideration those working in the private sector before putting up the demand. Just only 100 Naira

approved by the Federal Government had cost many workers their jobs. Only God knows what will happen if the 100 Naira demanded by the NLC was granted.

The NLC should concern itself mostly with the other conditions of service for workers apart from salary and wages, such as housing, transportation and medical care. The workers should equally reciprocate.

Price Control Board only helped to exacerbate an early inflationary market situation by making Nigerian traders develop greater propensity for hoarding goods.

The issue of 100 Naira minimum wage has become a reality in government ministries, agencies and corporations. Since the Federal Government accepted the minimum wage, many of our governments have followed suit. Kano and Kaduna states increased it by two Naira each.

From past experience, it is evident that increase in salaries and wages is not the ultimate solution to the high cost of living. The problem cannot be solved in isolation without finding lasting solutions to housing, transport and foodstuffs that drain the pockets of workers.

Even if the 100 Naira minimum wage had been granted it would only serve as a propeller to our inflation-ridden economy. One can only hope that by the time we start resuming the efforts of the Green Revolution programme and housing scheme of both the Federal and state governments, they will help to reduce the pinch of inflation.

Transportation should also be given prompt attention by both federal and state authorities. They should provide sufficient public transport at cheaper rates for workers in order to put an end to exploitation enjoyed by private transporters. Most workers especially those in the lower cadre, spend about one-third of their wages and salaries on transport particularly in commuting problems.

Our labour movement should be as efficient as the movement of the oil companies. It should not go on strike without a well-thought-out plan of the supply of goods and services it manufactures.

It is high time people in authority started monitoring the conditions of service of those working in private sector vis-a-vis their counterparts in the public service. It is an accepted fact that people working in private sectors put in more hours of service and are even more productive than those in public service. Alas! They supply cheap labour at cheaper price.

Recently, this reporter carried out a survey on the operational service of some workers at Kaduna Industrial Estate. I found that with the exception of Peugeot Automobile Nigeria Limited, none of the other establishments in the area makes provision for medical care, transportation and food canteen for their junior staff. Moreover, not all of them are being paid the minimum wage in spite of retrenchment.

The only way by which the Federal Government can compel the private entrepreneurs or firms to show interest in the welfare of their workers is by making it mandatory that certain percentage (e.g. 10 - 20 per cent) of their annual profit, after paying tax, should be spent on provision of housing, transport and medical care for their staff. This, I believe, will relieve workers of part of their socio-economic problems which have always led to agitation for increase in salaries and wages.



GOVERNOR: FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD EXPLOIT OIL DEPOSIT

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 1 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Chike Ajaraonye]

[Text] GOVERNOR Jim Nwobodo of Anambra State has declared his government's intention to pressure the Federal Government to exploit the large oil deposit at Eha-Ndiagu in Nsukka Local Government area.

He made the declaration while replying to an address jointly presented to him by the Eha-Ndiagu communities when he visited the Nsukka Local Government area.

The governor also suggested that the Federal Government should grant licence to state governments to prospect for oil where the deposit abound in order to increase the nation's revenue. At present, individual companies are granted licence to prospect for oil in the country.

In another development also at Nsukka, Chief Nwobodo announced the restoration of corporal punishment in schools in Anambra State in order to inculcate morality and discipline among the youths.

Saying that religious studies had been made compulsory in all schools, the governor added that all local government education committees would have two religious ministers as members.

On government take-over of schools, Chief Nwobodo noted that

most of the proprietors had already been paid their compensations and that those not yet paid would soon be settled.

He said his government would need 146 million Naira for the maintenance of schools and payment of teachers' salaries in the 1981 fiscal year.

On relations between Nigeria and Israel, Governor Nwobodo said the NPP subscribed to the restoration of diplomatic ties, adding that the Israelis and the Egyptians who were directly involved in the Middle-East conflict had since settled their differences.

# NNPC GIVES REASONS FOR NOT EXPLAINING REFINERY CLOSINGS

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 2 Jan 81 p 9

[Text] AN official of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Mr. Ogburn Onwuka, has said that the corporation does not announce the closing of refineries for routine servicing so as not to create panic among members of the public.

Commenting on a story in one of the national weeklies that the Kaduna Refinery will be closed down for a fortnight this month, Mr. Onwuka told the News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) that it was normal to close down refineries for overhauling once or twice a year.

"We do it often, because they are machines, they need to be overhauled and greased. And we don't normally make this information public, because people will start hoarding fuel and when there is a scarcity, the prices will go up", he said.

Asked if it was not unusual to service the Kaduna Refinery which was commissioned in October by the President, Mr. Onwuka explained that it had started operations from June.

He added that before refineries were shut down, the NNPC made all necessary arrangements to ensure the regular supply of fuel.

The official emphasised that "it is the President who determines who buys Nigeria's oil and not the NNPC".

He further stressed that Nigeria

had never sold oil in the spot market, as this was in keeping with the regulations of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, (OPEC).

Mr. Onwuka revealed that oil sold to some Nigerian customers could possibly enter the spot market and eventually to South Africa.

"But our policy is that if you sell your oil on the spot market, you are not qualified to buy from Nigeria again", he added.

He pointed out that before selling oil to any customer, the NNPC, as a matter of policy, found out its final destination and the refinery where it would be processed. (NAN).

## BRIEFS

**SALT MINING**--There are no salt deposits to warrant the setting up of a salt mining industry at Bunza, Sokoto State. According to a German firm of consultants, Klockner Ina Nigeria Limited who were paid 80,000 Naira to conduct a study on the feasibility of setting up an industry where "there are traces of salt, but not in mineable quantity." These details were disclosed to journalists by the Commissioner for Economic Planning, Alhaji Umaru Dahiru Tambawal. He said although, "we are naturally a little disappointed by this outcome in view of our desire to promote this particular industry in Bunza, the ministry will not feel despondent with the negative result. Confirming that efforts would continue to be exerted towards ascertaining the potentials for developing the state economy, Alhaji Umaru pointed out that it was something common with all geological investigations that investments were often made without realising the objects of such investment. He however stated that his ministry would hold further consultation with the relevant federal ministry in order to determine what options were now available on the Bunza salt issue. [Ibrahim Salihu] [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 1 Jan 81 p 16]

**IRRIGATION PUMPS**--Arrangements to provide farmers and co-operative societies in Sokoto State with small sized irrigation pumps has been completed by the government. A release from the state Commissioner for Rural Development and Co-operatives, Alhaji Shu'aibu Shinkafi, said 38 selected groups would first benefit from the scheme. The measure, he said, was designed to assist the farmers to expand their dry season farmings, particularly in vegetable production which he explained, was one of the state's enormous potentials. The commissioner said the number of the pumps to be supplied, which was aimed at boosting the Green Revolution programme in the state, was expected to rise from 38 to 100 between now and the first quarter of next year. Of the 38 pumps, Alhaji Shu'aibu Shinkafi said, 35 were from the Federal Government as its contribution to the state's effort towards implementing the programme. Meanwhile, the pumps are being distributed through the eight zonal agricultural offices in the state. [Salisu T. Waziri] [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 2 Jan 81 p 9]

**PALM OIL PRICES**--New prices have been fixed for the various categories of palm-oil by the Nigerian Palm Produce Board. In a statement in Calabar, the board announced that special palm-oil would attract a price of 495 Naira per tonne or 8.25 Naira per tin. According to the statement, palm oil grades one and two would sell for 440 Naira and 426 Naira per tonne respectively or 7.33 and 7.10 Naira per tin respectively. It added that palm kernel and copra would sell for 200 Naira

and 245 Naira per tonne, respectively while they would be sold for 15.38, and 11.31 Naira per bag, respectively. The board also declared yesterday as the opening date for the 1981 palm produce and copra season. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 2 Jan 81 p 9]

**SALT, PETROLEUM DEPOSIT**--The Yala Community in Ogoja Local Government area have appealed to the Cross River State Government to persuade the Federal Ministry of Industry to take interest in the salt and petroleum deposit in the area. They said that geologists have taken samples of the salt from around the area for test and proved that the ponds have very high salinity. The appeal was made recently at Ogoja when the Deputy Governor of Cross River State, Chief (Dr.) Mathias Oke Offochere, visited the area on a familiarisation and projects inspection tour. [Excerpt] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 3 Jan 81 p 1]

**NPB-NPP ACCORD SAID SHAKY**--The Deputy Governor of Sokoto State, Dr. Garba Nadama has said that the NPB/NPP accord has not been working satisfactorily. He said this was because some individuals from both parties make utterances that were contrary to the aspirations of their respective parties. The deputy governor also said he believed a clandestine group was pressuring the NPP members not to comply with the words of the accord. Supporting the idea of reviewing the accord, he said "In the light of what transpired they should sit and solidify the accord so as to meet the aspirations of the members of the parties in the accord." He noted that whenever there is an agreement to do something there would be certain occasions of disagreement, but then it would dawn on all the parties to identify and clear the difficulties for the sake of progress. The deputy governor said this sort of development is more apparent in a political set-up, pointing out that it was the duty of the parties to ensure that members abide by majority decision. "If the party hierarchy decides that something is good, I can't see anyone deviating from such guidelines," he added. Dr. Garba Nadama also disagreed that the various legislative houses were being turned into rubber stamp by their respective executives. He said the constitution had already defined the functions of the three arms of government. He explained that the minor problems being experienced resulted from lack of understanding of the new presidential system. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 5 Jan 81 p 3]

**MARKET FACTORY**--The first Market Industry in Kaduna was commissioned on November 27, 1980. The Company--Challan Industries Limited is owned by Challaram group of Companies, Wamey group of Companies, Karam Chand Thapar and Bros Ltd., India, Northern Nigerian Investments Ltd. and other Nigerian investors. The factory has been designed, constructed and commissioned under the able guidance of technical consultants, Messrs Karam Chand Thapar and Bros. Ltd. of India. The project team that has made the venture possible within the record time are Messrs. K. S. Pal, K. P. Mohan (word indistinct), M. K. Jain, S. J. Tohan, J. C. Khanna, E. A. Oja, S. N. Piralla, D. S. Sharma, P. Ramachandran, I. M. Patel, V. K. Chopra, N. T. Kneve and Bala Datta. The factory is being manned by 10 expatriates and 200 Nigerians. [Excerpt] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 7 Jan 81 p 8]

**MONY FOR RADIO STATION**--Sokoto State Government has made available over three million Naira to its radio--Rima Radio--for the provision of booster stations throughout the state. This was disclosed by the General Manager of the corporation, Alhaji Muhammadu Dan Kano, at the end of year party which he hosted at the new broadcasting house. He stated that already the sum of 450,000 Naira had been

made available to the corporation by the state government for the building of an extra studio, fencing of the whole complex and for furnishing both the studio and the new building. Alhaji Muhammadu Dan Kano revealed that 34 of his staff from five divisions of the corporation were promoted while some were on acting capacity. He also said that his corporation was among the first institutions to grant vehicle loans to staff soon after the ban on same was lifted by the present administration. He said 320,000 Naira was received as loan from the Union Bank and disbursed 42 of the staff under the scheme. Alhaji Muhammadu Dan Kano, also stated that a staff clinic, to be run by a dispensary attendant, had been proposed this financial year. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 7 Jan 81 p 13]

CSO: 4420

FRENCH SUPPORT VIEWED AS ASSET FOR DIOUF

Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Jan 80 p 1

[Article: "After Senghor"]

[Text] Mr Senghor did not miss his exit. In the affected simplicity of his exit as well as in the apparent ease with which his succession has been ensured, we are quick to find the mark of the old statesman who, after 20 years in power, is demonstrating again his feeling for gestures, the meticulousness with which he prepares all political operations, and his skill in maneuvering the Senegalese political personnel who are not exactly easy to deal with.

In addition, aside from the deeper reasons Mr Senghor may have had to retire, he obviously could not resist the temptation of giving a last lesson of savoir-faire to his African peers who, too often, remain on their thrones until death takes them away or until a coup topples them. As he left the foreground of the political scene, the former post-president wanted "no flowers by request," and no invitations were sent for the occasion although, on the dark continent, any event is a pretext for a meeting of heads of states.

The inheritance left to President Abdou Diouf, however, is not without problems. What is at stake in Senegal in the 1980's is not only to make sure that ethnic groups and political families who have often opposed each other in the past can now live together, a task at which Mr Senghor had passed master, but also to overcome an economic crisis all the more disquieting that the agriculture of this sub-Saharan state is poor and the farmers have been oppressed for too long by an inefficient and incompetent bureaucracy.

In a first state, Mr Diouf, who is preaching an "opening up of the political spectrum," has chosen continuity as is underlined by the composition of the government which was formed last Friday, with his agreement, by the new prime minister, Mr Habib Thiam. Most of the former ministers are included in this government, i.e., a political personnel who, along with Messrs Diouf and Senghor, has been managing Senegal for many years.



however, it seems that, following especially his predecessor's advice, the new Senegalese head of state intends to secure, in the administration of state affairs, the cooperation of a number of members of the opposition who are not represented in the Parliament and who have formed a permanently discontented opposition to the Senghor regime. Last Thursday, in a speech made at Mr Diouf's swearing in, the president of the Supreme Court made a plea to that effect, asking that "no one be excluded."

President Diouf may not intend to go that far to broaden his basis, since his parliamentary opposition, i.e., the Senegalese Democratic Party of Maitre Abdoulaye Wade, is already up in arms not only against the manner in which the succession was handled, but also against the overtures made toward extra-parliamentary groups who were obviously pleased. According to their line of reasoning, a possible revision of the Constitution and anticipated elections would have for sole object to provide the bases for such a coalition and to reinforce it, under Mr Diouf's presidency, in order to short-circuit Maitre Wade's supporters.

Nevertheless, on Senegal's rather stormy political scene, Mr Senghor's successor should be able to rely on a decisive trump, French support, since Paris wishes to avoid at all costs a "destabilization" of Senegal, especially in view of France's recent setbacks in the Central African Republic and in Chad. French economic assistance is considerable and, through a defense agreement and its military presence, Paris also contributes to ensuring "stability" in Senegal. It is now up to Mr Diouf, with Mr Senghor's blessing, to play his cards as well as possible to achieve economic recovery, maintain peace, and prove that a "post-Senghor era" is possible, thus paying a last tribute to the poet of negritude.

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CSO:4400

**AHMED NIASSE EXPELLED FROM NOUAKCHOTT, GOES TO LAS PALMAS**

Dakar LE SOLEIL In French 30 Dec 80 p 1

[Article: "Ahmed Niasse Expelled"]

[Text] Ahmed Khalifa Niasse certainly has difficulties finding a refuge to fulfill the dream of the Machiavellian hireling that he is: to destabilize African states in the South Sahara, under the aegis of a narrow and aggressive Islamic integritism. According to AFP, who quotes reliable sources, Ahmed Niasse was expelled Saturday morning from Nouakchott where he had intended to settle. He is reported to have arrived in Las Palmas, his new retreat, on the same day.

Does this mark the end of the romance with Qadhafi of this man whose small-time proselytism cannot hide the will for power which has now brought him to the worst compromises and a frenzied search for an asylum?

It all began at the end of 1979. Ahmed Niasse had already experimented with all forms of villainy when he launched himself into a scheme involving the sale of tickets for a pilgrimage to Mecca. He cynically exploited the good faith of several Senegalese faithfuls, did not keep his promises, and disappeared with his ill-gotten gain. He took refuge in Paris where he held a press conference. He was inspired by the example of the ayatollah of Qom and imitated him without any compunction. When Senegal asked for his extradition, Ahmed Niasse was on the run again.

This is when Tripoli welcomed him. Qadhafi signed checks so he could recruit and train young Africans to form a new conquering army. In fact, these young men were odiously deceived since they had been lured with the prospect of jobs.

Among them, the Senegalese were the first to react. They publicly denounced Ahmed Niasse and their example was followed by other Africans.

Was the small-time ayatollah of Kaolack chucked up by Qadhafi? At any rate, he caused trouble for him. After he had denounced his machinations, several African states followed Senegal's example and broke their diplomatic relations with Libya.

Even to his allies, Ahmed Niasse proved to be a nuisance and a danger.

## PROBLEMS CONFRONTING RESHUFFLED GOVERNMENT NOTED

London WEST AFRICA in English 5 Jan 81 p 4

[Text] SIERRA LEONE moves into 1981 with a major cabinet reshuffle. Mr Francis Minah stepping aside as Minister of Finance and the country receiving its third Information Minister in recent months, among other changes. The action might be taken as an indication of the continuing political vigour of President Siaka Stevens. His country is facing the most serious economic problems — as are so many of the countries of the developing world — and it was argued in *West Africa* recently that there was a need for the one-party system in Sierra Leone to demonstrate that it was able to deal with demands for change. This might be regarded as part of that sort of demonstration.

The new team at the Ministry of Finance — Dr S. S. Banya as Minister and Mr Alfred Akibo-Betta as Minister of State — has the almost impossible task of maintaining international confidence and keeping the IMF happy, which means strict control on government spending, and at the same time preventing the depression causing too much hardship and discontent. The recent sharp rises for civil servants and university lecturers could be regarded as necessary (certainly by civil servants and university lecturers) but they must also increase the government's deficit and cause widening demands by other workers.

Excessive government expenditure financed by borrowing from the central bank, other than by revenue, does not only cause inflation, it also debases the currency. A gap is now appearing between the official and unofficial exchange rates of the leone. The situation is not as bad as it is in Ghana, but it could grow worse.

The new Minister of Information and Broadcasting Mr E. J. Laverne faces the

problem of enforcing the recent Bill requiring newspapers to be annually licenced, at considerable expense and with the implication that licences will be refused to papers expressing strong opposition. It has been widely feared that this might threaten the existence of such a paper as the *Tablet*. The freedom of the press is an essential safeguard for the freedom of the people in a one-party state, and Mr Laverne would do well to give cause for a removal of people's fears on this score.

1981 is likely to be an important year for Sierra Leone as President Stevens has hinted that he might retire when his term as OAU Chairman ends in July. Sierra Leone's many friends would wish the country well over this change, as well as hoping for general peace, prosperity and happiness.

SIERRA LEONE

BRIEFS

ASSOCIATION OF SOVIET GRADUATES--A Sierra Leone Association of Soviet Graduates has been formed in Freetown, the aims and objectives of which are to foster academic relations with universities in the Soviet Union and to offer guidance for the proper evaluation of Soviet degrees in Sierra Leone. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 5 Jan 81 p 44]

CSO: 4420

## BRIEFS

ITALIAN REFUGEE ASSISTANCE--Minister of Local Government and Rural Development Jama Mohamed Ghalib received the Italian charge d'affaires in Mogadishu, Roberto Rosellini, in his office on 14 December, where they discussed relations between Italy and Somalia and assistance for Somali refugees. The charge d'affaires announced that the Italian Government has earmarked the amount of \$3 million to assist the refugees in the field of transportation. He added that the Italian Government will increase its assistance to the refugees in the fields of health and food. [Text] [Mogadishu HORSEED in Italian 19 Dec 80 p 1]

CSQ: 4404

## BOTHJA'S 'TOTAL STRATEGY' EXPECTED TO TAKE OFF IN 1981

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 17 Dec 80 p 17

[Article by Helen Zelle]

[Text] THE word in political circles is that 1981 will be a watershed in South Africa's political history.

Apparently the turmoil of 1980 was just for starters, a tiny foretaste of what lies ahead.

The main historical significance of 1980, say the experts, will be that of a transition year, one that marked the passing of an era and the start of another.

During 1980 the foundations were dug for a new political order that the Government hopes will slowly take shape over the next decade. The architectural plans are there for all to see — if the code can be deciphered.

That is the challenge of attempting a retrospective assessment of white politics in 1980. It is a process of reading the signs of piecing together each political development, of trying to find out what "change" means in Nationalist terms and where it will take South Africa.

In short, it is a process of revealing "total strategy" — the code catch-phrase of 1980.

If one had to find the briefest summary of the year's main trends, it would be this: gradual economic liberalisation combined with political moves towards a "vertigite" dictatorship.

A brief glance at events during the year tell the story.

The year started off with one of the biggest political hangovers in the country's history.

The previous year had been a heady time, with most South Africans high in the promises of "change", the all-things-to-

all-men word that captured the collective imagination. The 1980 Parliamentary session was greeted with a strong sense of anticipation as people waited to see whether the promises of change would be given legislative effect.

Their hopes were dashed in the first week.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, wasted no time in blaming the country's high expectations on the Opposition, and pledged he would stand by his 13-point plan which he interpreted as a reformulation, not a movement away from separate development.

The rest of the year was devoted to that reformulation. It was brought about by a simple realisation: the homelands policy had failed to achieve what its architects had intended to be a total economic and political separation of the races based on geographic partition. 1980 will go down as the year marking the admission of this failure in the highest Government circles. The realisation echoed again and again in all major reports and speeches ranging from the semi-official Benso report, to the Prime Minister's speech at the National Party's Transvaal congress.

But that did not mean that the Government had abandoned the underlying principles on which the original homelands policy had been built.

Every political development was designed to find a new formula to give effect to the same underlying principle: overall population management

in a geographic context so that whites would still be able to hold on to political power over themselves — but this time with the co-operation of a significant number of blacks.

The key difference between the old apartheid formula and the new was the Government's attempt to win allies for the plan among groups who had been traditionally disadvantaged by separate development — coloureds, Indians, Chinese and ultimately urban blacks.

The planners realized that this would obviously necessitate some major changes to the original concept, particularly in the blatantly racist crudeness of "petty apartheid" segregation. But the change had to be managed so that it would not jeopardise the basic design.

This was the dilemma of the strategists and the cause of division among Nationalists which provided the background rumbling and occasional eruption throughout the year.

Vertrampies believe it is impossible to compromise on the original apartheid doctrine without destroying it.

Vertigies believe any new strategy must hold socio-economic advantages for blacks so that they do not see their salvation in the total destruction of the system.

It is best to start with an attempt to define the new vertigite vision and then trace the year's events to show how it slowly took shape and what problems it brought with it.

At the heart of the vertigite strategy lies an acceptance of coloureds and Indians and Chinese as the allies of whites with



an attempt to find a political formula to reflect this alliance without jeopardising white control.

Parallel to this is a new and all-embracing radius control plan that sets a pattern of black population distribution the strategists hope will form the basis of the new design.

It is reflected in the Black Community Development Bill — one of the most significant political documents of 1980. Recently released for comment by Dr Piet Koozmoof, the Bill introduces a tighter system of influx control designed to stop uncontrolled black urbanisation — but these are significantly easier for blacks who are "qualified" to live in urban areas by virtue of fixed employment and approved housing.

In its present form, the Bill allows future black generations of their permanent right to live in urban areas and ties their presence to a home and a job. This will enable the Government to control black presence in urban areas according to the labour needs of the economy.

On his design to control population distribution the rest of the verligte plan is based.

It hopes to prevent a revolution by giving the carefully controlled urban black population a share in the system, in particular allowing it to share in the fruits of the rich urban economy.

The rural strategy also centres on an economic initiative for alternative rural growth points to provide job opportunities and avoid mass unemployment in homelands areas. The Government has abandoned its original plan of completely independent and sustaining rural homelands and opted instead for regional economic co-operative areas.

Economic development in these new "areas of co-operation" in border areas is central to the verligte plan — and the Government hopes it will be more successful than previous schemes because potential investors are not being asked to invest in the homelands. They are being encouraged to invest in the infrastructure of a future economic confederation, backed by a regional development bank that key strategists predict will ultimately develop into a political confederation.

That is the skeleton of the verligte plan.

Every political development during 1980 should be seen against it.

Particularly the Budget. It was a go-for-growth budget, designed to fuel the economic boom that was needed to provide employment, training and a new wealth for a small black urban elite.

At the same time, verligte hoped that the new prosperity and the free enterprise ideology would have a lubricating effect on Afrikaner Nationalist attitudes making them less stuffy ideological and more amenable to pragmatic change.

Thus is where the failure of the strategy was most apparent. It failed to penetrate the confines of the Nationalist caucus, that body of professional politicians, steeped in the traditions of a political ideology immune to most outside influences.

And it was from this quarter that the verligte Nationalists found the most threatening resistance.

Mr P. W. Botha had begun his term as Prime Minister with the clear hope of turning the National Party into a vehicle of verligte reform. 1980 saw the death of that dream. It ended when the Prime Minister failed in his attempt to drive Dr Andries Treurnicht, the spiritual leader of the Rightwing, out of the party on the issue of coloured schoolboys playing in Craven week rugby.

It was an obvious tactic, aimed at isolating Dr Treurnicht on a minor issue, so that the arch-verligte could be forced out with the minimum possible support, enabling the Prime Minister to press ahead with his plans to reformulate apartheid.

But from his powerful position as leader of the Transvaal, Dr Treurnicht could muster far more support than Mr Botha had anticipated and it was the Prime Minister who backed down, losing the confrontation on an issue of his choosing.

That was the end of the attempt to bring about change through democratic reformism. It marked the beginning of the shift towards the verligte dictatorship, the most significant development of the 1980 session of Parliament and the one whose effects will remain indelibly

etched in South Africa's future.

In what has been described as a skilfully executed political coup d'état, Mr Botha has taken sweeping steps to centralise power, vesting it in a group of close lieutenants with decision-making powers in committees who function behind closed doors.

This has been coupled by a downgrading of traditional political institutions — Parliament, the National party caucus, and even the Cabinet.

The change has been so significant that political observers believe Mr Botha has set up what amounts to an alternate constitution, that could take over the running of the country — from decision-making to administration — with the minimum amount of adjustment.

Major decision-making powers are now vested in five Cabinet committees, headed by Botha nominees. The most important of these is the State Security Council, with a strong military input, that has the final say on all matters with any bearing on "State security".

These decisions are administered by a rationalised civil service, whose activities are co-ordinated by a powerful department of the Prime Minister that overrides the functions of the bureaucracy.

But Parliament, and therefore the National Party caucus, still has the final say over changes in the law — and this is where the verligtes could apply the brake to Mr Botha's plans.

This is one of the reasons why Mr Botha established the President's Council. It is the centrepiece of his strategy to reformulate apartheid without spurning the National party. If agreement on the new plan can be reached between leading Nationalists, coloureds, Indians and Chinese, Mr Botha hopes that the majority of these groups as well as his own caucus will go along with the proposals.

Next year will tell whether the gamble succeeds.

But Mr Botha has taken definite steps to lessen the "gamble" element of his strategy.

His most decisive lever of control is his ability to nominate 11 MPs to Parliament, all of whom can be elevated to key Cabinet positions without any prior political experience.

This serves a two-fold purpose. In the first place, it enables Mr Botha to load the caucus with his supporters which could provide him with the crucial balance of power in any pending confrontation with the verkrampies.

It also enables him to elevate his nominees to the Cabinet, where they can be put into key decision making positions, with responsibility to no-one except the man who appointed them.

Although all the nominees are all white at present, there

is no reason why, at some future stage, Mr Botha should not be in a position to nominate coloureds and Indians to a powerful cabinet of unelected technocrats and experts who will be kept in power with strong backing of the military and police.

Another significant consequence that could flow from the principle of nominated MPs is that it may rule out any future possibility of removing the Nationalists from power through the ballot box. This became apparent during the Parliamentary debate on the issue when Nationalists admitted that the number of nominated MPs could be changed at any time to keep in power a Government with an unworkable majority.

The only thing Mr Botha needs to do to swing his alternate constitution into gear is to suspend the power of Parliament altogether.

This is something he could not do lightly — or blatantly. But Parliament's power has already been significantly eroded through the permit system, in terms of which officials and bureaucrats can grant "exemptions" so that people can, in effect, break the law.

Verligtes believe that this will reduce many outdated laws to "legislative fossils" until their change in Parliament becomes a logical inevitability.

There is little doubt that Mr Botha's key advisers would prefer to avoid the verligte dictatorship if reform can be brought about by other methods. But because "change" is a precarious process, that could go off the rails at any time through pressure from the left or right, Mr Botha has a carefully planned fall-back position — in true military fashion.

The influence of the military was obvious in other areas during 1980, particularly in the direct appointment of former Defence Force chief, General Magnus Malan, to the Cabinet.

Another Cabinet appointment that is likely to have long-term future significance is that of Dr Gerrit Viljoen, formerly Administrator-General of South West Africa, and one of Afrikanerdom's leading intellectuals.

He is already being tipped as a future Prime Minister, and the only man capable of challenging Dr Treurnicht in his Transvaal stronghold — a development that will take several years at least.

The same can be said for most of the developments of 1980. They were foundation stones, of a long-term plan called "total strategy".

One of the only institutions that defied pigeon-holing was the Press — and it suffered the consequences. The first Steyn Commission report made it clear that the Press should be "free" within the broad framework of this strategy. That theme is likely to continue, with renewed vigour, in the new year.

Other trends are also likely to resume with renewed vigour, among them the National Party in-fighting, the centralisation of power, decentralisation of economic growth and the tightening of influx control.

The importance of 1980 was that it laid the foundation.

## BUTHELEZI ATTACKS PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Jan 81 p 11

[Text] Political Problems

ULUNDI. — The KwaZulu Chief Minister and President of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelesi, said at the weekend that the month of January 1981 would go down in history as marking the beginning of South Africa's lost opportunity of finding a solution to its political problems.

Addressing Inkatha's Central Committee meeting — the first this year — he said that with the inauguration of the President's Council "we are as further from finding a solution" than the country was the same time last year.

"Although a certain measure of disillusionment was beginning none of us could guess that the Schlebusch Commission would come out with such a retrograde step as the setting up of a President's Council, even as an interim measure which excludes the majority of our population, the Blacks.

"Even when it comes to other Black groups the token faces that appear in the President's Council are not representative of the groups they come from," Chief Buthelesi said.

He said it was disheartening "that the decade of the

eighties would begin with the installation of a monstrous constitutional incubus on our backs". The point was that it "is a kind of incubus because we have no way of dislodging it, while those who wield power use it as a smoke-screen to mask their unwillingness to share power with us.

"There are those of my brothers who no longer talk of sharing power, but who declare as their policy that they are aiming for no less than seizing power and sharing it with democratic majority, where there will be no place

for racists who abound so much in our beautiful and troubled land."

Lately, he said, beginning in the seventies, Black political groupings had dissipated their energies and wasted their time not facing up to "our common enemy", many of them trying to prove theirs was the one and only way to emancipation of Black South Africa.

"The thing that should matter to all of us is whether or not we are making as much of a contribution towards a solution for the country's problems as we should." — Sapa.

## 'Whoever Survives Can Collect the Ashes'—Gatsha

ULUNDI. — The South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has appealed to some of his own people to leave the laager, but it does

seem as if there are some of them who have a death wish and who do not in the least bother what happens to this country and all its people."

KwaZulu Chief Minister and President of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelesi, said at the weekend.

Addressing Inkatha's Central Committee meeting

he said a surge of anger might tell us that it was much better to let things drift to a showdown.

"Indeed certain politicians on the other side of the

colours line have spoken of the imminence of such a showdown, and have said that whoever survives can collect the ashes.

### Responsibility

"This is the very measure of our responsibility not just to ourselves, but to Southern Africa, to Africa and to future generations that will tread on this part of Africa when all of us are no more," he said.

There was a tendency to allow anger to have a free sway. It was even natural that since "there does not seem to be any reasoning possible, brute force is therefore the answer."

"But history has given us a great responsibility in this land. We are called upon by destiny to save the Whites of South Africa from being strangled by ramifications of their greed and selfishness. We are called to save them from themselves.

"If there is any commodity we Blacks need desperately in these circumstances, it is cool minds. We are catapulted willy-nilly into a battle of minds. In these circumstances the greatest disservice we can do ourselves and our future generations is to lose our cool," Chief Buthelesi said. — Sapa.

CSO: 4420

## BLACKS' VIEW OF 1980 DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 Jan 81 p 16

[Article by John Qwelane]

[Text] For many blacks, 1980 was a year of surprises and only some of them pleasant.

The year started with the inaugural congresses of both the Azanian Students Organisation (ASO) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

From the very beginning the two organisations jointly called upon students to boycott classes in protest against the "inferior" type of education given to blacks, coloureds and Indians.

This boycott was largely a failure. But, around March, things began to change. Sporadic demonstrations took place along the Reef, and in the Eastern and Western Cape and Kimberley.

There were exchanges between police and students, culminating with the death of one policeman. Damage to property was extensive.

Ultimately the Government closed down schools in several areas and black education came to a virtual standstill. Security police at this point arrested several people.

Mr Curtis Nkondo, then national president of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO), was detained after addressing a meeting at Wits University. He was subsequently banned, but not before his own organisation had

suspended him as president for allegedly flouting protocol.

It was also during the height of dissent that Mrs Lillian Ngoyi, who led 20 000 women to the Union Buildings during the 1950s to protest against the introduction of passes for women, died. She remained a banned person for most of her life.

In June, the Government banned all services earmarked to commemorate the outbreak four years previously of the Soweto riots. The ban affected most of the metropolitan areas of the country and Soweto police also banned all local and foreign newsmen from areas they termed operational zones.

In some parts of Soweto, the services went on, resulting in clashes with the police. Teargas and batons were used.

Within a month, Johannesburg was brought to its knees by a strike by almost 90 percent of its black workers. Their leader was Mr Joe Mavi, hitherto unknown as a black leader.

His union, the Black Municipal Workers Union, called upon its members to strike in solidarity with sacked municipal workers at the Orlando power station. Almost all essential

services came to a halt as workers chose to stay in their compounds.

Instead of negotiating with the striking union, the management committee of the City Council called in the police. Hundreds of migrant workers were "bused" back to homelands during the strike.

Shortly afterwards, workers on Post newspaper went on strike for higher pay and better working conditions. After negotiating terms with their management they returned to work.

Then workers on the Cape Herald demanded a settlement for themselves similar to that at Post.

The Herald strike became a national issue with the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) calling all members to join the strike. The result was a protracted two-month conflict which ended ironically on the day the Government closed three black newspapers in the Transvaal. And Mr Zweighe Sisulu, Mwasa's president and news editor of Sunday Post, and Mr Muzimu-thu Subramoney, Mwasa's national vice-chairman, were banned.

There was also activity among some church leaders in 1980. During the year high-ranking clergymen went on a protest

march to John Vorster Square police headquarters, but were arrested in the city before reaching their destination.

The clergymen had passed resolutions earlier in the year, the most important being that there should be civil disobedience against unjust laws.

Senior clergymen from the South African Council of Churches met the Prime Minister at the Union Buildings. Though the meeting was viewed by many as having achieved nothing concrete, many more saw it as a shift from the Government's tradition of not having dialogue with those opposed to its policies.

Swaziland community council elections were delayed by the Minister of Co-operation and Development at the request of the community council. The reason given was that the community council had asked for the postponement because some projects were still in the pipeline.

Cynics, however, were adamant that the only reason why the elections were not held was because Mr David Thabane and his councillors would have been thoroughly beaten at the polls because of the dissatisfaction with their handling of the rent issue.

Meanwhile, the Swaziland Civic Association, which had asked the community to go on a massive defiance campaign by refusing to pay the new increased rents, lost its case in the Rand Supreme Court. An appeal is about to be lodged.

Then a little man from the dusty streets of Mkhlaseng township in Randfontein won the hearts of many when he gave them their biggest Christmas present, Peter - Terror.

Makheula won the world flyweight boxing championship in Los Angeles and gave the country its first black champion.



## HENDRICKSE URGES BLACK CONVENTION

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Jan 81 p 17

(Article by Marion Sparg)

(Text) THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said this week his party was working towards a kind of "black convention" where various ideological groups could sort out their differences.

The party has chosen the path of "peacebreaker" among black political groups in South Africa after being accused by some in the black consciousness camp of "selling out" its policy of confrontation.

"We have taken on a negotiating role to co-ordinate black opinion because there is so much diversity in African leadership," Mr Hendrickse said.

"A convention or conference of this kind is already feasible but there is still a lot of spadework to be done."

He said reconciliation among black groups was necessary before reconciliation between blacks and whites could take place.

"We already have the South African Black Alliance but we are not thinking of a new organisation, simply a conference," he said.

**Hard line**

The party has come under fire from its radical wing for joining the alliance, which is spearheaded by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Butheveni, and his powerful Inkatha movement.

These radicals regard participation in government-created institutions as "being party to our own oppression."

Mr Hendrickse took a hard line,

at the recent national conference in Johannesburg where he denounced critics of the party as "loud-mouthed provocateurs" and said those who did not agree with the direction of the party must choose another path.

However, Mr Hendrickse said this week that reconciliation between all black political groups was necessary "so that when we sit down at the conference table one day they will hear a united voice."

**Willing**

He also said, "We are as much a part of black consciousness as the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). We preached black consciousness long before Azapo even existed."

"It was the Labour Party that promulgated the whole essence of black consciousness among the coloured people."

"I don't think black reconciliation is totally impossible despite the enmity that exists between groups like Inkatha and the Committee of Ten. There are individuals on both sides who are still willing to talk to us," Mr Hendrickse said.

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nkomo Mofiane, said Mr Hendrickse's hope to unite the black people was a "noble sentiment" but would be

very difficult while division existed in the black community about whether to participate in government structures or not.

## FOREIGN FIRMS BOOST BLACK TRAINING

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Jan 81 p 17

[Article by Dennis Williams]

[Text]

**STUNG** by criticism that they are bolstering apartheid simply by operating here, many multinational corporations have sponsored social reforms: equal pay for equal work, management training for blacks and desegregated company facilities.

Now some US and other foreign firms are taking on a new mission, upgrading black education.

It is a move born of necessity as much as compassion. The South African economy has boomed at a rate that outpaces the training of skilled white workers, and the education system does not produce enough trained blacks.

Since the Government seems unable to fill the gap, foreign corporations are taking the initiative themselves through a variety of grants, scholarships and special projects.

The most conspicuous US business involvement so far is a private commercial high school now being built for black students in Soweto.

**600 pupils**

Known as Pace, to suggest progress, the \$8-million (about R4.8-million) project will be the only black private school in South Africa.

"We will prove that if black students have educational facilities as good as those enjoyed by white stu-

dents, you'll get the same results — good graduates," says Mr Darrell Hoffman, president of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa, which founded the school.

When it opens in June, Pace will enrol 600 of Soweto's best and brightest for a five-year programme beginning at 13.

The youngsters will study maths, languages, accounting, business practice, economics and secretarial skills in a compound that will include a theatre, gymnasium, tennis courts, a swimming pool and one of the best school libraries in South Africa.

Pace's staff will be multi-racial, with all teachers paid 10 percent more than white teachers in public schools. The principal, Mr Rex Thompson, is a former headmaster of Michaelhouse.

The vice-principal will be Mr Oswald Mshali, the country's leading black poet. Most of Pace's graduates are expected to move onto the payrolls of the corporations backing the school — among them, IBM, Citibank and Eastman Kodak.

**Hard line**

Other multinational corporations are also pushing in to improve black education generally — most notably Shell South Africa, a subsidiary of the British-Dutch oil giant that has become a favourite target of apartheid foes.

One method is providing scholarships and 400 black students selected and financed by Shell have already graduated from universities at home and abroad.

The firm offers grants for maths and science teachers at the University of the North, and has poured money into techniques that have produced skilled black workers for its own plants.

Control Data, the South African subsidiary of the US Control Data Corp, helped finance the \$1.5-million (about R1.3-million) St Anthony's Learning Centre in Boksburg, Transvaal, which attracts more than 4,000 black students a year.

**Spurred**

More than half are adults receiving literacy training, and others learn skills such as welding and car repairing that help them land jobs.

Soon Control Data will introduce specially designed computers to enhance the training at St Anthony's and at a dozen other such centres.

Such efforts have spurred similar programmes among South African companies, which worry about losing skilled black workers to big US and European companies.

**Dream**

Rand Mines plans to spend \$3-million (about R1.6-million) over the next five years

to improve the 23 primary and pre-primary schools that the Native Land group maintains for the children of its black employees.

In the past two years Anglican and Catholic Churches have forced a crack in apartheid by enrolling some black students at their schools, but these are so expensive that few blacks can afford to attend.

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'BEELD' EDITOR CLAIMS BLACK NATIONALISM POISONED BY MARXISM

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 16 Jan 81 p 2

(Article by Manie Wolfaardt)

[Text] BLACK nationalism in South Africa has been poisoned by Marxism and was no longer capable of holding its own. Mr Ton Vosloo, editor of the Afrikaners morning paper, Beeld, told the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media yesterday.

"The younger Black generation think they can achieve their nationalist goal by clinging to the Marxist credo and then shaking it off when they had achieved that goal.

"In this manner, Mozambique became 'free'. So did Angola and Zimbabwe. Sam Nujoma is using the same credo to liberate South West Africa," Mr Vosloo said.

"Their belief that they can shake off the prescriptions of communism once they have achieved their freedom goal is one of the greatest fallacies of our time," Mr Vosloo said.

"As an Afrikaner nationalist I have no illusions. It is either them or us."

In Zimbabwe the freedom of the Press has gone for a loop, he said. In Mozambique and Angola, a free Press medium does not exist.

Mr Vosloo said he was opposed to Government intervention of the Press.

The Steyn Commission should be the medium through which recommendation could be made to Government to review the present legal limitations placed on the free Press.

Mr Vosloo suggested that the power of the Press Council of South Africa be extended to enable it to investigate — on its own — deviations from the Press Code.

He mentioned as an example the Press Council in Britain which consisted of 38 representatives.

The Press Council of South Africa had a chairman and two members he said.

The British Press Council had 18 members of the Press and 18 outsiders, with a presiding judge who had a casting vote, Mr Vosloo said.

BLACK WEEKLY VIEWS ISSUES IN CARTOONS

Changes in 1981

Johannesburg VOICE WEEKLY in English 22-31 Dec 80 p 2

[Text]



Constellation Theory

Johannesburg VOICE WEEKLY in English 7-13 Jan 81 p 2

[Text]



CSC: 4420



## CALM ASSESSMENT OF NATION'S POLITICAL SITUATION ADVOCATED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Jan 81 p 21

[Article by Anthony De Crespigny and Peter Collins]

(Text) THE South African political situation generates extreme passions on all sides.

The commitment of Afrikaners to the survival of Afrikanerdom is only matched in stridency by the outrage expressed by champions of the oppressed majority about the injustice of the present social order.

It is, of course, characteristic of all political controversies that they tend to arouse emotions whose vehemence constantly threatens to overwhelm ordinary rationality and objectivity.

However, the extent to which this is true of debate about South Africa is exceptional — thus, a widespread proneness to believe in the chimera of *swart gevaar* is as readily exploitable by the forces of reaction as is the no less absurd characterisation of National Party supporters as latter-day Nazis.

One result is that the pursuit of reasonableness comes to be not only neglected but actively despised.

### Fallacious

The fallacious assumption is made that the claim to judge the South African situation dispassionately is fraudulent and betokens indifference to the real sufferings, aspirations and

fears of the people involved.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Calm reason, objectivity or a sense of proportion are not incompatible with warm passion. Equally, stormy emotion may be no more than sterile excitation and is compatible with a complete absence of humanity.

It is an acute awareness of the seriousness of the issues at stake that makes it imperative to exploit to the full the available resources of reason and experience. And this must be done dispassionately, for that is a necessary condition of effectiveness.

### Temptation

Just as quiet detachment, instead of indicating indifference, may constitute an attitude of mind which must be deliberately cultivated if constructive expression is to be given to a heartfelt concern, so emotional and public proclamations by those who profess concern may serve precisely to aggravate the situation about which they so noisily claim to care.

This phenomenon whereby people come to believe that, provided they can convincingly claim that their hearts are in the right place, they can safely neglect the exacting business of applying their minds is

no doubt endemic in all politics.

But it clearly becomes a temptation which is both harder and more important to resist, the more virulent the passions which political issues generate.

These consequences of the sterile emotionalism

which tends to characterise debate about South African politics — distrust of reason and the parading of moral passions as a substitute for contriving concrete results — combine to generate strong pressures towards ideological conformism among all groups.

This conformism has been extensively noted as a feature of Afrikaner culture, but the force of its influence within other groups has been largely neglected.

It is not only Afrikaners who are liable to be accused of *volksverraad* if they speak or act contrary to the prescribed orthodoxy of their group.

The bastions of so-called English-speaking liberal South Africa — English newspapers, universities and churches — show scant tolerance for lines of argument which run counter to their ruling orthodoxy.

### Dangerous

But even less hesitant and more dangerous are the

pressures towards ideological conformism exerted by "radicals" within the black communities.

These pressures are less hesitant because radicals, unlike liberals, are no more disposed to view tolerance as a virtue than their reactionary opponents.

They are more dangerous because the specific content of their ideology at least condones, where it does not

positively advocate, large-scale violence as the means of achieving its end.

These pressures towards conformism of a simple, stirring and reassuring kind are deeply destructive in their effects because they make existing psychological gulfs less easy to bridge and negotiated political agreements harder to achieve.

## Remedy

If accommodation becomes impossible, if mutual relations become marked by hostile emotion rather than by a desire to seek common ground, if those who stress the complexity of issues and who advocate compromise are despised as weaklings, opportunists, fools or traitors, then political leaders become forced to adopt increasingly inflexible positions.

It is obvious that the only kind of remedy which could possibly work in South Africa is one which would give blacks substantially more, both politically and economically, than they at present have, while at the same time leaving whites with enough — and that means much — of what they currently enjoy.

Any lasting remedy will therefore have to be based on compromise, on the kind of horse-trading which is the stuff of politics.

It is wrong-headed and sanctimonious to regard all engagement in *realpolitik*

in South Africa as inherently dirty.

This kind of contempt for politics is both naive and dangerous, and is the product of a misunderstanding of the relationship between morals and politics.

Most whites are fearful of what would happen to them under black rule.

Perhaps their fears are exaggerated. Or perhaps, in an ideal world, no one would worry about the race or colour of their rulers.

But there is nothing meritorious in acting and urging others to act as if these fears did not exist (in politics it is not reality but perceptions of reality that matter).

Nor is there any virtue in refusing to have any political dealings with those to whom these fears are important, on the ground that they are "racist" fears and that, therefore, those who have them are automatically beyond the pale.

## Morality

What morality requires in a situation of such enormous potential destructiveness as South Africa is a clear understanding that the alternative to politics is war. Politics in this situation requires that white fears be acknowledged as no less a brute fact than black aspirations, and that the search is not for an ideal solution but for the least unsatisfactory compromise.

□ Professor De Crespigny is professor, and Peter Collins lecturer, of political science at the University of Cape Town.

## THIRTY POLITICAL PRISONERS TO BE RELEASED

Johannesburg VOICE WEEKLY in English 7-13 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by Mthobeli Mutloatsi]

[Text] MORE THAN 30 Black people convicted under South Africa's various security laws, are expected to be released from Robben Island and other jails, some time this year.

Also, 15 or so Black people on the banned list have their restriction orders expiring this year, according to VOICE statistics and that of the South African Institute of Race Relations' research section.

Among the banned people whose restrictions expire this year are: Mrs

Albertinah Sisulu, wife of one of ANC leaders' Robben Island life-prisoner Mr Walter Sisulu, and mother of recently banned journalist Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu; Mrs Fatima Meer, the internationally-known Durban sociologist, Mrs Winnie Nomzamo Mandela, wife of ANC former leader and Island life prisoner, Mr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, and man and wife Mr and Mrs Ella and Mawatali Ramgobin.

Some of those who will complete their prison sentences are three of the marathon SASO-BPC nine trialists, Gilbert Sedibe, Absalom Cindi and Strini Moodley and some of the Soweto 11 trialists.

Here is a list of banned people and dates of expiry: Mr Govindsamy Reddy, Durban researcher; ban expires on December

31; Mrs Ella Ramgobin, Inanda, (Sept 30); Mr Ramgobin, founder of the Committee for Clemency of Political Prisoners in '71, (Sept 30).

In March '73, a parcel bomb exploded in Mr Ramgobin's offices, seriously injuring two of his children.

Mr Moses Ndlovu's ban expires on October 31, and he stays in Pietermaritzburg; Mr Alpheus Mhetwa, Durban (Oct 31).

He was the secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union at the time of his banning.

Mrs Fatima Meer, sociologist (July 31). Her banned son Rashid has since fled to London. Mr Vukile Tshweta (Mar 31), Christopher Wymers (Apr 30); Lungelo Dwaba (Mar); Mrs Winnie Mandela, banished to Brandfort, Vrystaat,

(whose orders expire on Dec 31. Mr Sipho Andries Kubheka, from Alex, and ex-organiser of the Johannesburg branch of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Oct 31); Mr David Sponono Gasa, former director of the Umlazi Residents Association (Nov 30); Mr Matoto Ngcobo, of Mdantsane (April 4); Mr Ebrahim Ismael, Durban (Oct 10); Mr Saths Mahara (Dec 31); Mr Dukuza Mashaba, Soweto, (Sept 30); and Mr Mdumiso Mbekwa, Mdantsane (Mar 31); Johnny Ramrock, Noordgenig (Apr 30); Mrs Sisulu (July 31); Mr Fana Sithole (Dec 31) and Mr Mohamed Timol, (Dec 31).

People expected to complete their prison sentences under the security legislation, at different times this year, are believed to be: Mr Saths Mazibuko; Mr Michael Dingane; Mr Betrams Gon-salves (from Belville); Mr

Themba Gwebani; Mr  
 Ngcela Ntseke; Mr Vuyi  
 Jack el Dimbaza; Mr  
 Paulos Lekhula; Mr  
 Thomas Mabuza; Goodwin  
 Fezekile; Mr Joshua  
 Maleeme; Mr Amos  
 Masondo; Mr S  
 Ndushane; Mr Abner  
 Mkhonza; Mr Ronald  
 Mkhize; Mr Ernest  
 Moeng; Mr Mqozwana;  
 Mr Kekane Ncube; Mr  
 Johannes Ndlovu; Mr  
 Campbell Ngale; Mr  
 Johannes Ngwenya; Mr  
 David Nhlape; Miss  
 Sibongile Susan Mthembu  
 (in April); Mr Samuel  
 Mthombela; Mr Walter  
 Ntseke; Mr Joseph Piat-  
 ties; Mr Alfred Qithi; Mr  
 Jacobs Sejake; Mr Lesley  
 Seleka; Mr Sidney  
 Senance; Mr John  
 Shidomo; Mr Ardinot  
 Sipetha; Mr W Siko; Mr  
 Phumelile Sizani; Mr  
 Samuel Sola; and Mr  
 David Thathu.

CSO: 4420

ARMED CIVIL DEFENSE ACTION AGAINST TERRORISTS ADVOCATED

Johannesburg DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 5 Dec 80 p 4

[Article by Koos Botha: "Strategist Advocates Armed Action"]

[Text] H. P. Potgieter of the Institute of Strategic Studies has told the University of Pretoria that consideration will have to be given to armed actions as part of the functions of the civilian defense organization in South Africa.

In a publication of the institute dealing with civilian defense, he says that mandatory participation in civilian defense must also be considered, while a decision must also be taken with respect to its financing.

He states that a continuous reevaluation of civilian defense measures is necessary in light of threats.

The question has come up as to whether the South African system which is now aimed at training for firefighting, emergency aid and the restoration of necessary services, mainly for dealing with natural disasters, will be effective in the event of war.

However, one of the threats to the country's security is urban terrorism which will be mainly attacks against the civilian population.

The armed forces or the police cannot protect the population in all regions and civilian defense must therefore be organized in such a manner that civilian collaboration with the defense establishments will be capable of combating terrorism, stated Potgieter.

Natural disasters cannot be controlled, but terrorism can be prevented to a great extent by human action.

"However, this will require that in the future consideration shall be given to armed action as part of the civil defense organization's functions."

Terrorism presupposes a psychological attack upon the population and although this form of attack is difficult to combat, effective measures can contribute in repelling terror. Therefore fully sustained training, organization and participation are necessary.

It now appears that a large section of the population is not yet aware of the importance of participation in civilian defense.

#### No Garrison State

"This brings up the question as to whether mandatory participation should also be considered in the future.

"Mandatory participation does not mean that South Africa would have to be turned into a garrison state.

"Along with mandatory participation a decision must also be made on the kind of financial support which would have to be given and also on the channels through which this is to be accomplished." In so saying, Potgieter pointed out that in the United States money for civilian defense is allotted through the defense budget.

He said that certain municipalities have reasonable resources available to them; however, to the extent that the threat to the country increases, more money will have to be allotted for civil defense.

He is of the opinion that the government, and especially the central government, must set down clearer guidelines with respect to civil defense.

Because civil defense fills an extremely important function, especially with respect to the country's total defensibility "it should be formulated within the context of total strategy, for it belongs there," stated Potgieter.

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SALVATION OF SOUTH AFRICA SOUGHT IN CONFEDERATION ARRANGEMENT

Johannesburg DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 5 Dec 80 p 10

["Perspective" Column by Otto Krause: "Seeing Things Through the Blacks' Spectacles"]

[Text] The debate among black ranks is over deciding in favor of patience and negotiations or making preparations for radical action. This kind of a situation is putting the initiative in the hands of white leadership.

Whenever the necessity of grasping things shows up, the advice is invariably: "Put yourself in the other man's shoes!" Actually this is a very useful thing to do in all human transaction and today I will therefore put myself in the political shoes of the black man in South Africa.

I want to look into his views, considerations and ambitions within our system. Moreover, there is always a left shoe and a right shoe and sometimes one foot is more understanding than the other. Thus it is also necessary to weigh the black man's various motivations in themselves.

It is first of all necessary to recognize the fact that the black man cherishes the ambition of controlling South Africa under his own political system. This ambition stems from elements of degradation, revenge, the search for security in self-determination and the knowledge that political power will provide access to many other things.

Arguments

Moreover, the black man's argument in favor of taking over rests upon the democratic principle of equal voting rights for all, the "negritude" of our continent and that justice will come to him if he is in control.

In this ambition, the black man is not much different from the Afrikaner, because following the 1910 compromise he too tried to take over South Africa. We can therefore understand this craving in him.

Bearing in mind this common objective which the blacks will be striving for, the black man is asking himself: What sort of a South Africa do we want to take over? Is there not the danger that we can destroy South Africa in the

process of taking it over? What group of leaders will the actual administration have?

Most of all: What are we going to do with the other people of South Africa?

We can therefore see that the simplistic drive for a takeover is giving rise to all kinds of other complications in the black politician's thinking.

It is here that the roads divide and a difference shows up between a more understanding and a less understanding approach ....

Radical blacks allege that a forceful politization and inspiration among the black masses is necessary. Blacks must be motivated to political and related actions and therefore the radical approach is obvious.

Radicals know that a movement of this nature is dependent on the creation of martyrs and heroes, on the building of an ideological solidarity, on the campaign of wailing over the injustices of the South African society and especially over their feelings that they represent an irresistible wave.

They also have the feeling that this sort of approach can best turn the outside world in favor of the black man.

Moderate black leaders, on the other hand, realize that a black takeover of South Africa will not be an easy thing. These people know that the whites, and especially the Afrikaners, are just as nationalistic as they themselves and will rather fight than give in ... or share power.

These people do not want to destroy South Africa in the process of a violent black takeover, because the black man will be suffering more than the white man under this takeover.

#### The Moderates

Moderate black leaders are just as aware of the lack of motivation to political action by black masses as are the radicals, but they think that this question will correct itself only to the extent that their people make progress in the qualitative aspect of living: education, economic values, accomplishments ... and so on.

On the other hand, the radicals are saying that this process will last too long, as a result the blacks will turn soft and become "comrades". Results will be achieved faster through the expansion of a "poverty culture" in support of their policies. Yet everybody knows that radical action cannot actually succeed in the foreseeable time; only situations of emergencies can help it.

The more understanding black leadership is now beginning to see more and more another truth. This is the perception that the black man, no matter how humiliated and put in his place, yet finds the presence of the white man to his great advantage.

Just as we Afrikaners realized that we could learn a great deal from the English, the black man also realizes that the transfer of skills from advanced people to less advanced people, in a process such as is taking place in South Africa, is of cardinal importance to him. Above all, this is what sets him apart from the rest of the blacks in the continent.

Mozambique is exactly the lesson which has now been learned.

#### Involvement

It is striking that recently blacks have told me that they realize that the white man should have some ties and involvement in such circumstances, because it is this very aspect of white input in such a process which makes it possible to a meaningful extent.

This is an approach which radicals of course detest. Moreover they are impatient people. In their hastiness they are being backed by the political culture of communist might and by a large portion of the Third World.

Contributing to this is also the belief of inevitable victory and if things are "irrepressible" then people always want to accelerate the result.

In short, it may be said that the debate among black ranks comes down to either patience and negotiations, or preparations for radical action. But the key to this is that black leaders would like to have both choices.

And if I were to put myself in the shoes of the blacks I too would see things like that ....

The objective of this brief summation of contrasting black political considerations at this stage is to make the point that the present situation is actually putting the initiative in the hands of our white leadership.

With the black radicals not really ready for action and with the black moderates realizing that the peaceful way provides the best advantage for their people, the government now has a special opportunity for bringing about a generally acceptable arrangement.

But why not? Because of the fact that the process of politization and of expansion of political discipline among the blacks in these years is starting to get going now for the first time.

As it progresses--and progress it will--the radical choice is bound to grow stronger in black thinking. This is because the promise of a speedier salvation is always more attractive.

At the same time, we all realize that if the radical choice is accepted by the great masses of blacks it can only lead to a violent clash.

It is therefore only to the advantage of South Africa's blacks and to the advantage of us whites that the government move now, at this stage, toward a broad arrangement between black power and white power ... on the confederal basis set forth by the prime minister.

Although a confederal arrangement at this early point in time would perhaps be too astounding for many of our people, it is exactly this type of timely initiative and exciting action which will succeed in putting a stamp on the future.

7964

CSO: 4408

## BLACK TRADE UNIONS FLEX MUSCLES

Johannesburg VOICE WEEKLY in English 10-16 Dec 80 p 4

[Text] THE PAST months have witnessed a lot of activity in the Black labour market in South Africa.

There have been strikes, disruption of production, sackings, threats, wage increases and the general mushrooming of trade unions throughout the country.

The whole Black labour force seem to have suddenly come to life.

Trade unionism has become the in-thing among Black workers.

As a result, THE VOICE will be focussing on the Black labour scene, with special emphasis on trade unions. We are bringing to you the first of a series of articles on the labour movement. We invite Black unions to write and tell us about themselves, their hopes and aspirations in general.

Trying to place Black trade unions in context is like walking through a minefield because of the complicated legislation, the unions' differences of outlook, the implications of the Woburn Commission's report and the legislation that will stem from it. The Commission gives the following breakdown of trade unions in South Africa as at the end of 1977.

There are 84 registered trade unions for Whites with a membership of 350,000.

There are 49 registered trade unions for Coloureds and Indians with 100 000 members.

There are 41 registered trade unions with a mixed membership of 49 000 Whites and 131

000 "Coloureds" and Indians.

The African trade unions or any unions that have African members are barred from registration by the Industrial Conciliation Act, which excludes Africans. The majority of workers in South Africa, from its definition of "worker".

This Act dates back to 1923, immediately after the White mine-workers' strike and the Rand Riots when White workers resorted to violence against employers and Government.

The universal cry is: "Workers of the world, unite".

But this legislation, one of the cornerstones of apartheid, has made this impossible in South Africa and led to the different outlooks among the trade unions.

The Act was designed to protect White workers, who have made full use of the powers it grants them.

And nothing could have been more amusing, if it was not so tragic, than the sight of the various unions jockeying for places where they could live "comfortably" with this piece of legislation.

For the Confederation of Labour, which according to the 1978 Trade Union Directory published by the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) has 21 affiliated unions, the most comfortable position was "keep them White".

They were, in fact, following official government policy.

In 1954 the Trade Union Council of South Africa was formed, but only registered trade unions could affiliate.

This was its comfortable position until 1973 when, because of international pressure they opened their doors to unregistered trade unions.

This is when TUCSA decided to encourage the formation of parallel unions, that is, unions for Africans that would work hand in hand with the registered White unions.

The decision came when Blacks had seen through the attempts by Whites at fraternisation, when Blacks had come to realise that it is always the Whiteman, on some pedestal, who decided where, when, and how he will offer his "hand of friendship".

At the end of July last, seven unregistered trade unions were affiliated to TUCSA.

Fosatu was formed last April when 12 Black trade unions came together at St Peter's Seminary in Hammanskraal.

Three of them are registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

The members of the Consultative Committee were in the original plans to form the federation.

They pulled out when they alleged that the federation would be dominated by "non-Africans".

Their fears were borne out when the inaugural congress elected a White as the first secretary general.

## THOUSANDS OF NURSING POSITIONS UNFILLED IN TRANSVAAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Jan 81 p 8

[Article by Marilyn Cohen]

**(Text)** NURSES' salaries are not adequate and nobody ever said that they were, Dr J de Beer, the Director-General of Health said yesterday.

As no interim salary adjustments were ever made for people working in the public sector, the nurses would have to wait until the Part Appropriation Bill was introduced in Parliament in February for an indication of what salary increases they could expect in the budget, he added.

Thousands of nurses have left the profession because of poor salaries and working conditions and enrolment of student nurses at most of the training hospitals in the Transvaal are down on previous years' intakes.

The situation in the Transvaal has assumed desperate proportions with more than 5 000 nursing posts in hospitals throughout the province unfilled. In comparison, the teacher crisis in the Transvaal is small — only 400 posts remain vacant.

The problem in the nursing profession has taken on the appearance of a vicious cycle, but this was not new, Dr De Beer said.

Nurses leave the profession because of poor salaries and long hours — this creates a shortage which means that other nurses have to work even longer hours which many are not

prepared to do for what they feel is an inadequate salary — so more leave, and the shortage worsens.

He attributed the current nursing crisis to the economic boom which has created all sorts of alternate job opportunities for nurses and prospective nurses, especially on the Witwatersrand where the crisis was most severe.

"Some years ago the problem was just as bad, but things in the nursing profession improved when the economy went into a slump," he said.

Representations from the various nursing bodies in the country, as well as from the Provincial health authorities had been forwarded to the Government with recommendations from the Department of Health for salary adjustments.

"Where is a lot of sympathy for the nurses in Government circles and I sincerely hope there is something good in store for them in the Budget.

"The nursing professions' demands have been forwarded and now it is up to the Government to decide how far they can meet these demands," Dr De Beer said.

He said he could not comment on a report in a Sunday newspaper which stated that patients were dying in some Transvaal hospitals because the shortage had led to a sharp drop in the quality of medical care.

The report listed a number of cases in which patients allegedly died because the only person who had been left to see to their needs was an unskilled nursing assistant or a very junior student nurse.

"The story contains no facts which can be substantiated or denied so I am in no position to comment," Dr De Beer said.

However Johannesburg doctors warned of dire consequences as a result of the nursing shortage in letters to the SA Medical Journal in November.

Professor J B Barlow, Professor of Cardiology at the University of the Witwatersrand wrote that there were "many Provincial hospitals in South Africa whose standards are being jeopardised by the inadequate quantity (and also quality) of nursing staff."

Dr P Heterden, principal medical officer at the Johannesburg Hospital wrote about the "desperate shortage of nursing staff."

"It does not need the insight of a prophet to see that this country is facing a health crisis of incalculable dimensions," he said.

Meanwhile the Transvaal Hospitals Department has launched a massive recruiting campaign for nurses in Britain and West European countries in a desperate bid to plug the province's growing shortage of nurses.

They have also begun a local campaign to encourage young people to take up nursing as a career.



A qualified nursing sister who has left the profession after eight years commented bitterly: "Yea, it's great earning a salary of sorts while you're still training.

The problem is that your salary doesn't go up all that much when you qualify."

She said the salary increases received when one obtained further qualifications "hardly made the effort of studying worthwhile."

The sister, who asked not to be identified as she is still registered with the Nursing Council, said she had left the profession because she felt her salary was no compensation for the long hours she had to work, the responsibility she had to shoulder or even that elusive ideal of "job satisfaction".

"I love nursing — I knew I'd never be rich as a nurse and I knew and accepted the fact that I would be expected to work nights and weekends.

"But one gets to the stage where one is no longer prepared to accept the piffling salary any longer — I'm earning more as a shop assistant now which means I can afford the privacy of my own flat and a whole lot of other little luxuries I'd almost forgotten existed."

CSO: 4420

## WHITES THREATEN TO KEEP BLACKS OFF BEACHES

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Jan 81 p 8

[Article by Ray Joseph and Rajendra Chetty]

[Text] **ANGRY** whites have threatened to form vigilante groups to eject blacks from whites-only beaches at Richards Bay, but police have warned them not to take the law into their own hands.

Trouble first came to a head over Christmas, when blacks and whites clashed on beaches after busloads of blacks led to holidaymakers leaving early.

Scuffles broke out, and the tyres of buses were deflated.

A police spokesman said his men would be used to enforce segregation on the town's beaches.

The Richards Bay town council recently erected whites-only signs at several of the area's main beaches, with other areas being designated for blacks.

Said carpenter Mr David Tuttinger: "I have spoken to a lot of the blacks around here, and we do not like what is happening on our beaches."

"I was nearly beaten up by Indians on the white beach, and now I am getting together a couple of blokes to sort this thing out before it goes too far. If the police do not act, then we will."

A senior police spokesman said one black man had already been charged for refusing to leave a white beach.

"This is against the law, and we will carry on as we have done so far by asking blacks to leave beaches and, if they do not, then we will be forced to prosecute them."

### Police

"We have been very polite about this."

"But blacks are not allowed there because it is against the law. We cannot tolerate this."

The police spokesman said plans were being made to enforce beach segregation but, at the same time, whites taking the law into their own hands would not be "tolerated and action will be taken against people doing this."

Richards Bay's acting town clerk, Mr J H Remmow, said there had always been separate facilities for whites, Indians, coloureds and blacks in the town and there had only been "minor incidents."

He said the latest flare-up had been exaggerated and accused up-country visitors of taking the law into their own hands.

There was no need for vigilante groups to patrol beaches because there "is nothing to be concerned about."

Mr Tuttinger said: "We need the holidaymakers, yet these people are driving them away. Feelings are running very high because these people have practically taken over our beaches."

### Lesson

"If we allow it now, how far will it go?"

Mr Tuttinger said there had been no trouble on the beaches on New Year's Day.

"I found a whole lot of Afrikaners on the beach on New Year's Day, but after I told them that it was a white beach, they left without any trouble."

"I do not want to go against the police, but I have at least

10 phone numbers of guys I can call on if necessary. Most of them have lived here at least four years and they are determined that our beaches will stay white, as it should be."

Mechanic Mr John Du Toit said: "These people have their own beaches and we do not go there, so why should they come onto ours?"

"These people come onto the beaches and don't wear clothes. They change in the open."

Mr Kobus Du Plooy, a local electrician, said: "One of the best beaches here was given to

these people, but they are not happy."

"If the law does not do something, then we will. These people need to be taught a lesson."

Boiler-maker Mr Dennis Goddard said: "We are not happy about this lot. If the police do not do something, then we will get rough."

Mr Peter Deva, secretary of the Zululand Indian Welfare Workers Association, denied that there were open black-white clashes at the beach. He accused up-country visitors of causing trouble.

The Richards Bay council, and the whites of Richards Bay and Empangeni, have been very, very co-operative on the beach issue and have allowed Indians to use the white beach, known as Two Mile Rock, after the original Indian beach had been severely damaged by spring tides," he said.

"It would have cost the council R23 000 to repair the damage at the Indian beach and my association was informed by the town clerk, Mr J P J Truter, that we could use the white beach at Two Mile Rock in the interim pending the provincial administration's subsidising the cost of repairs."

## PLUSH RESORT MAY GO COLORED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Jan 81 p 4

[Article by Graham Spence]

[Text] THE Ifafa marina — a luxurious Natal South Coast holiday park — may be declared a prestige coloured resort this year.

The Department of Community Development has asked for a list of all the 1 000 sub-lease holders, and the developers are optimistic that the Government has decided to incorporate the resort into the proposed South Coast coloured zone.

There are no other coloured resorts along the South Coast.

The developers believe that the picturesque R4.8-million resort, which has a swimming pool, sportsfields, self-contained caravan sites and luxury chalets, would be doomed anyway as far as white holiday-makers are concerned if the surrounding area were declared coloured — which appears inevitable.

### Anger

However, angry sub-lease holders are accusing the developers of using the coloured issue as a ruse to get rid of the marina.

There are already several established coloured settlements in the Ifafa district, and the developers said they had been told privately by top Government sources this week that a final announcement regarding the rezoning of the Ifafa village — a stone's throw from the marina — was imminent.

The original decision on rezoning the area goes back as

far as 1976 and the initial deadline given to whites living there was 18 months.

This has now been delayed for four years as white and coloured landowners and developers "soft-pedal" waiting for a firm Government decision.

Mr Charles Harrett, managing director of the developing company responsible for the marina, said the Department of Community Development refused initially to consider incorporating the marina because the luxury resort was beyond the means of the average coloured family.

"We argued that if the whole area was declared coloured, with only a small white holiday enclave, the marina would be doomed. It just would not attract up-country holiday-makers," said Mr Harrett.

"This was borne out by a survey conducted during the Christmas holiday season, when we asked our visitors — mainly from the Transvaal — if they would object to a large influx of coloured holiday-makers in Ifafa.

"Forty percent said they would object most strongly, another 40 percent said they wouldn't like it very much and only 20 percent said they would not mind.

"Sixty-five percent said that they would not come back to the marina if the Ifafa beach was rezoned for coloureds.

He said that his company had supplied the Department of Community Development with the results of the survey, and the fact that the department had asked for a list of all the sub-lease holders was promising, because it appeared that

the Government was considering buying them out.

"The best deal for us all under the circumstances would be for the department to set a realistic price on the marina and buy out each sub-lease holder. The marina could then be developed as a coloured resort," said Mr Harrett.

# NAVY MUST REPLY TO LT SINGH'S ALLEGATIONS

Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 6 Jan 81 p 8

[Column "On Parade" by Willem Steenkamp]

[Text] In a manner of speaking, today is D-Day in the "Affair of the Disgraced Lieutenant". I say this because today, so we were told recently, the Navy's personnel chief, Commodore R Eberlein, will be back at his desk at Defence Headquarters.

This means that if every naval man in Pretoria has done his Nelsonian duty, Commodore Eberlein will have before him a letter needing only his signature before being sent to former Lieutenant Pariah Singh, the ex-officer of Indian ancestry who hit the headlines recently with a series of serious allegations against the SADF.

No doubt readers will recall that a naval spokesman said at the time Lieutenant Singh's allegations were published that a private reply would be sent to him, which he could release to the press or keep to himself, whichever he preferred.

This could not be done, however, till Commodore Eberlein returned from leave and approved the letter, however. Thus quoth the spokesman.

Well, Commodore Eberlein is back at his desk today, and if all has gone well the letter will be waiting for him. Knowing what I do about him, I am sure it will receive his prompt attention and be sent off to Mr Singh without delay.

But I would like to appeal to Commodore Eberlein to make the contents of the letter, or at least a comprehensive summary of them, available to the press without delay. As it is, the Navy has lost about two weeks by deciding to defer an answer till Commodore Eberlein's return, but at least something can be salvaged from the wreckage by stating its position publicly at the earliest opportunity.

And believe me, "wreckage" is the appropriate word. There has not been all that much public reaction to the Singh allegations so far — but let the Navy not be fooled by that.

Mr Singh came out with his remarks very close to the festive season, when South Africans are occupied with other things. However, the festive season is out of the way and the nation is gearing itself up for the new year's activities.

For one thing, a new session of Parliament will start later this month and the Minister of Defence can rest assured (although I am sure he knows it already) that there are going to be some very pointed questions asked by the Opposition.

Apart from that, I am not the only newspaperman to have taken note of Commodore Eberlein's scheduled return. From today the pressure will be on with a vengeance.

There is also the fact that at the moment the SADF relies on volunteers for recruiting black, coloured and Indian members, who read the newspapers just like everyone else.

If the Navy insists on going by the book and supplying a private answer to Mr Singh, then I take it upon myself to suggest that the

Department of Defence issue a more general statement on such matters as rates of pay and the gap that exists.

My information is that the pay gap is now pretty small and scheduled to become even smaller, but I cannot give exact figures because none have been made available for quite a while. I would like to submit, however, that the only way this matter is going to be settled is to eliminate that gap altogether and as soon as possible.

The Department of Defence claims with some truth that it runs a "people's defence force" which is certainly the case if one looks at the astonishing variety of ethnic and cultural groups to be seen in uniform. But there is more to a "people's defence force" than that.

Since everyone seems to be predicting a rough ride ahead, it is more important than ever before that we set our military house in order in this respect.

### Coup or no coup?

I note that stories about the coup d'état the Rhodesian armed forces were allegedly planning in the event of an election win by Mr Robert Mugabe are still very much in circulation.

It's pretty much history now — most of a year has gone by since the election — but the thing just won't lie down and die.

Readers will remember that just before General Peter Walls was publicly and messily fired as Chief of Combined Operations he was interviewed by a BBC reporter at Umhlanga Rocks and among other things, he said that as professional soldiers he and his colleagues had examined all possible courses of action, including the possibility of a coup, but that no such "unconstitutional action" had been planned or prepared.

This was followed by a ferocious attack on General Walls by the Minister of Information and Tourism, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, who claimed the general had planned just such a coup and quoted the London Daily Express as stating that the plan had been nicknamed "Operation Quartz".

General Walls in turn denied all knowledge of Operation Quartz, while the foreign editor of the Daily Express, John Ellison, said Dr Shamuyarira's version had been a distortion. According to Ellison, "Quartz" was not a coup attempt but a contingency plan to support a legally-elected government, worked out in case Zimbabwe Rhodesia (as it was then) collapsed into widespread civil disorder.

General Walls's stand was supported by the former Prime Minister, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who described the coup allegations as "utter rubbish, nonsense and foolishness".

So much for that. But just recently an unsigned article in the latest issue of the independent military-affairs magazine *Armed Forces* stated categorically:

"All Rhodesians called up in January 1980 for the pre-election period, prior to Zanu sweeping into power, were briefed down to the last private soldier: 'Don't worry about this election — if Mugabe wins, the Army will move in. There is no way the Communists are taking over'. In fact detailed plans were made, down to the Eland armoured car, which, with its 90 mm gun, was to take out the Zanu Zipsa command post at Mount Pleasant."

It is history now, of course, that no coup was attempted. But no doubt the talk will go on for a long time. If any readers can throw some light on the matter I'll be glad to hear from them.

### Help for ex-servicewomen

It's a frightful blow to the ego, but I must admit there are probably people in Cape Town who not only do not read *ON PARADE* but don't even know it exists.

If so, they will not have read my periodical mention of the activities of the Ex-servicewomen's League (WO 1073), and will not know that this organization is devoted entirely to their specific needs and would like to help them wherever possible.

Mrs L. Scott, the league's secretary, has dropped me a line to say "We feel there may be ex-servicewomen who are needing advice in regard to military pensions or help in some matter and either are not aware of our existence or do not know how to get in touch with the League. Would it be possible for you to mention that we can be contacted?"

• Of course! If you need help, write to the Secretary, ESWL, 14 Victory Avenue, Pinelands 7408.

## PFP HIERARCHY LAYS DOWN LAW

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Jan 81 p 5

[Text] CAPE TOWN. — The Progressive Federal Party was not prepared to go along with those who claimed that White politics was irrelevant, the Party's leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said here at the weekend.

Opening the Cape Western Region Party Congress, he said the PFP stood for voluntary change to a situation of non-domination of any majority or minority group.

The PFP did not accept a majority domination and insisted that a peaceful solution could only come via minority vetoes and a bill of rights.

Wherever constitutional models were being discussed in terms of Africa, minority veto was now becoming a more prevalent ingredient, such as in the new Nigerian constitution for a return to civic rule.

"Wherever it has been ignored in Africa it (minority of veto) has been a cause of strife and conflict," he said.

★

A NEW dispensation for restaurateurs and hoteliers to exercise discretion in admitting Blacks meant the blame for international incidents would now be placed

on the owner of the premises, not the Government, the Party was told.

Mr Jan van Eck, Editor of the PFP publication, *Deurbraak*, said the Government should either be honest, and put back the apartheid boards, or pass a law, outlawing discrimination, as their friends the DTA in South West Africa had done.

Dr Piet Koorhof had buried apartheid overseas, but no-one had seen the corpse, nor attended the funeral, he said.

THE PFP would continue to prod a hesitant Government and spell out the changes that still had to take place in South Africa, the Party's National Chairman, Mr Colin Eglin said, closing off the congress.

He said it was not good enough changing the image of apartheid: "We must dismantle the structure of apartheid."

The steps he suggested The Government should take were:

● Giving back Coloured South Africans full municipal franchise.

● Opening up the civil service to South African citizens of all races. — Sapa.



TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION DEFENDS PRESS FREEDOM

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Jan 81 p 2

[Article by Marilyn Cohen]

[Text] THE TRANSVAAL Teachers' Association is to submit a memorandum on the importance of Press freedom in education to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

This was decided at the TTA executive's first meeting of the year at the weekend.

Mr Peter Mundell, president of the TTA, said his organisation felt strongly that the question of Press freedom was not only a political issue, but belonged in the realms of education as well.

"While we do have reservations about some sections of the media abusing their position with regard to education issues, over the past few years the Press has, by and large, been responsible in its reporting of, and responsive to, education matters," he said.

As far as the Human Sciences Research Council's inquiry into education was concerned, Mr Mundell said several of the TTA committees which had been set up to help the HSRC had completed their work. Their findings would be submitted to the HSRC in the near future.

Turning to the question of

staff shortages in some schools, Mr Mundell said the TTA was sending out questionnaires to all schools to find out exactly what the staff position was and whether all appointments had been effected properly.

"This year appointments handled by the regional education offices seem to have been dealt with more efficiently than last year, when the situation was totally chaotic," he said.

"However, there seems to be a problem regarding a number of semi-qualified teachers, or teachers with the minimum qualification teaching certain subjects.

This needs investigation.

"Many high schools also appear to have dropped certain subject options, completely due to a shortage of qualified teaching staff. One subject which has been badly hit is accountancy."

Mr Mundell said the resignation last week of a senior TTA executive member, Mr J R Lambson, had been accepted with deep regret.

"All the points raised by Mr Lambson in his letter of resignation could have been dealt with in debate where it is a long standing TTA tradition to always accept the point of consensus," Mr Mundell said.

## KRUGGERAND SWINDLING SCHEME REVEALED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Jan 81 p 5

[Article by Paul Lange]

**[Text] POLICE estimate that South Africans could have lost up to a R1-million last year to tricksters who peddle non-existent gold coins, including "Krugerrands".**

And gullible people are likely to be taken for another ride this year by a national network of "Krugerrand gangs" who relieve their victims of their money without producing the goods.

The gangsters are sharp operators who live in five-star hotels and drive luxury vehicles. They are total professionals.

A senior spokesman for the Gold and Diamond Squad revealed this week that the police had learnt from underworld sources that at least R400 000 had been ripped off South Africans in the past year.

"And that is only the tip of the iceberg," he added. "This is only half of what we suspect has been taken out of the pockets of local investors."

"The worst of it is that the public will be taken for another ride in 1981."

"The problem has reached such proportions that the Gold and Diamond Squad has established a priority unit to deal with the problem."

The spokesman is distressed that South Africans are laying themselves open to this crime.

He fears they are no match for the ruthless sophistication of the Krugerrand gangs.

He added that their victims were upper-middle-class South Africans who were conned into parting with anything between R2 000 and R40 000 a time.

The gangs do an intensive investigation to establish the financial position of their intended victim.

"When they have worked out just how much the client can afford they approach him and offer him gold coins at a price he cannot refuse," said the spokesman.

"Then they arrange to meet him, normally out of town or in a foreign state. They set the time for the afternoon or late evening so they will be able to make their getaway in the darkness."

The spokesman went on to explain the modus operandi of the thieves.

They will initially tell the "client" that they have a number of Krugerrands to offer him. They have already decided how many the client can afford.

Gang members then establish where and when they will meet the victim.

When the so-called client arrives, they are ready for him.

The gangs employ a number of techniques to ensure they take the money before the victim sees the coins.

• They tell the client that the owner of the coins — in some cases "Krugerrands", which were currency in the Transvaal Republic towards the end of the 19th century — is an old woman and that because of her age she is suspicious. Therefore it is necessary that the gold-coin dealers show her the money first.

Often the swindlers say that the old woman cannot believe that anyone has been able to gather such a large amount of cash.

"The operators are such good actors and talkers that the man will part with his money before he has even seen the coins," said the police spokesman.

• The operators also tell the client that the person who has the Krugerrands is a witch-doctor and he can only conclude the deal if he is able to take the client's money and place it where the coins have been buried. This, of course, is the last the client sees of his money.

• In the third trick, the gangs set up a meeting between the buyer and "seller". While the details of the transaction are being discussed, a member of the gang enters and poses as a policeman. This is intended to frighten the prospective buyer, who, in the meantime, has handed over his money.

The buyer is asked if he has a permit to deal in gold and he is intimidated to the extent that he considers himself lucky if he escapes from the law — even if without his money.

"The most important thing is to make the public understand that if they receive an offer, they must come to the police

immediately so that we can set a trap," said the spokesman.

"But I know that in the next year people, even if they read this, will be ripped off."

"The greed of South Africans is most distressing," he said.

RICHARDS BAY PIPE PLANS MEET OPPOSITION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 16 Jan 81 p 9

[Article by Luke De Charnay]

[Text] DURBAN. — A proposed R27-million pipeline at Richards Bay, Zululand, has been bitterly attacked by conservationists, other interested bodies and individuals in Natal.

According to the conservationists, the pipeline, if it were built, would disperse poisonous industrial effluent from the proposed Mondi paper mill and existing plants at Richards Bay, including the Triomf fertiliser factory.

A spokesman for the Natal Parks Board yesterday called for a detailed study of the matter by marine biological experts.

The board said in a statement yesterday it would always be "totally opposed" to any development which would in any way have detrimental effect on the environment.

The statement said: "In regard to the proposed Richards Bay pipeline, there are factors which are of considerable concern and the board supports any move to reduce dangers to the marine environment."

"The sea is being looked to more and more as a future source of food and the long term effect of continued use of the sea as a bottomless pit for the disposal of waste can only be speculated on.

"The board therefore urges all parties concerned to undertake full and complete studies to determine the effect on marine life of the waste to be disposed of by the proposed pipeline," the statement said.

The scheme has also been criticised by Mr Nigel Wood, NRP spokesman on the environment, who said efforts were being made around the world to rehabilitate polluted waters.

He said, although it was a tedious and expensive programme and could turn out to be unsuccessful it was worthwhile in the long run.

Mr Ian Player, executive director of the Wilderness Leadership School and staunch nature conservationist, confirmed that pollution of the sea would have a crippling effect on marine life.

He said it appeared South Africa was becoming a dumping ground for industrial waste.

CSO: 4420

## MAIL OMBUDSMAN TAKES CRITICAL LOOK AT THE MEDIA

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 5 Jan 81 p 14

(Article by James McClurg)

(Text)

PRESIDING over the Commission of Inquiry into the media, Mr Justice Mayne expressed distress at the attacks various sections of the Press had made on each other during 1980. His concern is well founded. Nevertheless I share the view of Mr Benjamin Pogreud, Deputy Editor of the Rand Daily Mail, in his evidence to the commission, that the solution does not lie in a "new structure" for journalism or in trying to "professionalise" it.

You cannot legislate good sense into people, and that, I fear, is precisely what is lacking in some Press quarrels.

It is good that newspapers should propagate different opinions and right that they should challenge each other when necessary. In fairness too, looking back over this particular year, it would be hard to expect much charity and forbearance from the Nationalist Press newspapers, especially Beeld, towards Persika after the foul blow inflicted on them in the great circulation war with The Mail. The latter was entitled to strike back at The Citizen in the same circumstances.

But feeding for feeding's sake is a great weakness for readers and ultimately self-destructive.

As evidence before the Mayne Commission has shown, the English and Afrikaans Press are united in their opposition to further curbs on the Press. The evidence of Mr Harold Pakendorf, editor of Die Vaderland, must as well have come from the editor of one of the English-language newspapers.

Yet during 1980 Afrikaans newspapers made accusations

against their English-language contemporaries which, taken at their face value, came remarkably close to justifying suppressive legislation on a selective basis. Can such editorial luxuries be afforded in these critical days for the Press?

I shall not go into details raking over old controversies will help nobody. Nor do I at all suggest that the faults are all on one side.

But if 1981 is to be a better year for the Press than 1980 and looming dangers are to be averted, more emphasis on unity and less on political points is a priority.

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FROM the evidence of spokesmen of State departments before the Mayne Commission of Inquiry into the media, it is increasingly clear that what the Government has in mind

for South Africa's Press is a system of self-censorship.

Whether the instrument of that process, if the Government has its way, will be a statutory Press Council on the lines of the Medical and Dental Council, is a question of form. The essence of the notion is that the Government should be able to bring the newspapers sharply to heel without incurring the odium of overt censorship.

The Press is right to resist self-censorship which is not at all the same thing as self-censorship as strongly as it would oppose having a man with a blue pencil sitting in newspaper

offices. History shows that self-censorship, by its very inadequacy, is in the long run a more certain destroyer of Press freedom than any form of direct control.

Fresh evidence of this comes, surprisingly perhaps, from Iran. A fascinating booklet, published by the International Press Institute and written by Amir Taheri, a distinguished Persian journalist now living in Europe, tells the story of the trials endured by the Press under two regimes in that unhappy country.

The booklet bears the amusing title "Nonsense-paper", representing the direct Persian transliteration of a word unknown in Iran until the uncertain beginnings of its Press in the late 19th Century.

The early 1970s saw the Shah's government trying vigorously to stifle Press criticism of the regime. Armed commandos descended on offending newspapers to confiscate whole editions.

This kind of guerrilla censorship proved largely ineffectual. So wily and determined were the editors that in some cases "doctored" editions were turned out in Teheran to satisfy the censors while the real news reached the rest of the country through other editions.

But far more effective, says the author, was "a plague of self-censorship which afflicted newspapers resulting from fear and frustration. Censorship, before being a definite system is often a mood, an atmosphere, an ethereal presence that envelopes everything.

"Cub reporters did not inform senior reporters of events they thought would not be coverable. Sub-editors thought there was no need to trouble news editors, already hard-pressed, with stories they thought could not be printed. In such ways did the censorship frontier lead on its own odious reputation."

About 1976 — three years before the Shah's downfall — arguments in favour of democratic norms gained the ascendancy in the regime, and the constraints on the Press were relaxed. But it was too late: the damage could not be repaired and the regime slid inexorably towards the abyss.

It would be pleasant to be able to add a happy ending to this rural tale. Alas, after a brief honeymoon with a Press that had been largely responsible for bringing the Shah down, the Ayatollah Khomeini yielded to pressure and allowed the newspapers to be beaten and strong-armed into extinction or subjection.

Ironically, most of the journalists now jailed as "collaborationists" had previously been jailed by Savak, the Shah's notorious secret police.

The sole gleam of light was the proliferation of underground newspapers, many enjoying big circulations and produced by photo-copying. This phenomenon has been called, with wry homoeur, a "xeroxocracy".

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WITH 1980 safely behind, a roundup of some old friends from the headlines. No prize is offered for recognizing them.

"Grave news" — a casualty at a funeral; "Weighty problem" (something about a fat man or woman); "Mr Chips" (any schoolmaster who has not publicly disgraced himself and retires after not less than five years' service at a given school); "Mr Big" (the proprietor of any business enterprise on a scale not less than two fish-and-chips shops); "Flushed with success" (anything to do with a public lavatory); "Ocella" (any incident, however commonplace, involving any French woman, however ungla-morous); "Naked truth"; "Making a clean breast of it"; "Cheeky story"; and "Getting

to the bottom of it" (yes, you got there all first go).

Friends is used, all of them, to weary sub-editors. But wouldn't it be nice if they could be affectionately kissed goodbye as we enter 1981? Even if it meant sacrificing the kind of news story they adorn.

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A READER has contrasted the amount of space given by the Press to Peter Mathubela, black South African world flyweight champion, with that given to unsuccessful white heavyweights like Gerrie Coetzee. Is this, she asks, not a pure racism?

Before trying to answer that question it must be recognized that the interest generated by a heavyweight fight cannot be compared with that taken, in any country, in a flyweight fight. Flyweights — up to 112 lbs (about 51kg) are the lightest professional class and I doubt whether the world championship causes much stir beyond specialized boxing circles.

But the emergence of South Africa's third world champion, in boxing, is a major event. It would be hypocritical to pretend that it would not have received more publicity had the winner been white.

How much more is impossible to judge. Nonetheless, the reader's query leaves me, and I hope others, with an uncomfortable feeling. At the very least the contrast she has pointed to tells us a lot about our strange society and the extent to which the Press is a captive of its values.

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#### STOP PRESS

TWO sex-legged men were briefly held by police in Bang, last night after a brawl in a discotheque where they had been dancing with each other. Police let the handcuffed pair go with a warning to refrain from future dancing in public on the grounds that they managed their wadded legs badly, hampering other dancers. — Gulf Daily News.

## COSTS OF PRISON UPKEEP REPORTED

Johannesburg **RAND DAILY MAIL** in English 12 Jan 81 p 5

(Text) **DURBAN** — South Africa spent about R110-million last year to keep behind bars its huge prison population — estimated to be the highest per capita in the world.

This has been calculated from figures furnished by the Department of Prisons, which indicate that last year it cost about R3 each a day to care for an estimated 181 000 prisoners.

Commenting on the statistics, Mrs Helen Swann, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton and the Opposition spokesman on prisons, called for a change in the laws which send most prisoners to jail.

"Most of our prison population are short-term offenders, and they are sentenced for statutory crimes such as the pass laws," she said.

She also urged an increase in the number of prisoners released on parole, as recommended by the Viljoen Commission report on South Africa's penal system, which was released four years ago.

She pointed out that a former Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, had made it easier for prisoners to be paroled. But supervision was not adequate at present.

"The whole question of removing the discretion of the courts should be looked at," she said, and recommended more suspended sentences.

Professor Harold van Niekerk, of the law faculty at the University of Natal in Durban, also singled out statutory laws relating to influx control, documentation control, and trespassing as being responsible largely for the high prison population.

"Some of these laws constitute crime factories," he said. "And they refer to crimes which are not regarded as such anywhere else in the world."

He estimated that one of every four arrests of adult Africans each year was for a technical offence.

Prof Van Niekerk also drew attention to the social stigma

attached to prisoners. The public did not want to concern itself with the problem.

"Society wishes to push its prison population into the background," he said.

The head of the department of criminology at the University of Durban-Westville, Professor Roland Grasse, suggested in Durban recently that acts such as gambling, drug abuse, prostitution and consenting homosexuality were a nuisance rather than a threat to the community and should not be treated as crimes.

He said there was an increasing feeling among social scientists and lawyers that certain categories of behaviour should be decriminalised — where there was really no victim, or the victim was the offender himself.

The reason why most countries had a lower prison population than South Africa was not so much that they had little crime, but that they used other methods of punishment more extensively, he said.



## BUTI SLAMS SILENCE ON PMS 'CHEAP DEAL'

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Jan 81 p 2

[Article by Marion Sparg]

[Text] A NEW row between Dutch Reformed Church theologians erupted this weekend after an outspoken New Year message from the Rev Sam Buti, one of South Africa's best-known churchmen.

Mr Buti, scribe of the black Dutch Reformed Church in Africa, rebuked eight white theologians for going no further than appealing for acceptance of the "cheap new deal" concept of the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha.

He slammed the churches for their silence in a year in which, he said, blacks could see only "increasing police and army roadblocks, continued student unrest and school boycotts despite the Government's so-called new deal."

Professor J. A. Heyns of the University of Pretoria, one of the theologians, replied that Mr Buti had not understood what "our statement was all about".

"We did not want to go any further than simply asking the church to deliberate on the matters we raised," Professor Heyns said.

"We did not have any practical programme in mind when we made the statement."

### Criticism

The controversial message from Mr Buti comes at a time when the church is facing increasing criticism.

Mr Buti, whose recent resignation as president of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) has created uncertainty in that body, said he was deeply concerned "about the church in the light of the fact

that the more serious the situation becomes the more silent the church seems to become."

"First, I refer to the discussions which took place between the Prime Minister and the SACC, which produced nothing substantial due to the attempt of Mr Botha to silence the SACC in its public statements on injustices reigning in South Africa," Mr Buti said.

"Secondly, my great disappointment of 1980 has been that eight Afrikaans theologians who, if they had the courage, could have meaningfully operated from the biblical concept of reformation and thereby prepared the way for a true new deal based on the demands of God's Kingdom for South Africa, and could not come any further than a vague and general plea for the acceptance of the cheap new deal concepts of the Prime Minister."

He was referring to the "Reformation Day statement" by the theologians, who recently expressed their concern at the "apparent inability" of the church to fulfil its role in reconciling the various population groups in South Africa.

Mr Buti said the church's role in the past year "once more confirms that the liberation of the church in awakening and giving a truly prophetic witness can come only from those Christians who have made a clear choice in identifying themselves with the struggle of the oppressed."

The past year had been one of confusion over constitutional and political change, Mr Buti said.

"The recent announcement by Dr Pien Koenhof of the three draft Bills as a new deal

on the future position of urban blacks is an indication that the year 1981 is going to be a crucial and possibly decisive period on the issue of political rights and restrictions of urban blacks."

However, the public needed to be reminded that in 1979 a Cabinet committee, together with a number of regional committees, was appointed by Dr Koenhof's department dealing with the same issue of the position of the urban black.

Mr Buti said it was reasonable to assume that the recommendations of this Cabinet committee were somehow included in the Bills. If this were so, it was the right of blacks to ask how these regional committees and urban communal councils judged the Bills.

### Improves

"If they believe that their views truly reflect the feelings of the people, how is it possible that the proposed legislation worsens instead of improves the positions of blacks?" Mr Buti asked.

He said this proved once more that a "new deal of change for our country and all its peoples is not possible within the framework of the Government's apartheid policy, and it gave more confirms that a new deal is only possible where authentic representatives have been elected in a truly democratic fashion — which implies the prior release of prisoners from Robben Island, the lifting of all bans and the return of political refugees so that the people can freely choose whom they wish to see at a round-table conference."

## FRENCH ORDER SHIPS TO CARRY MORE COAL FROM SA

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 12 Jan 81 p 13

[Text]

WITH an eye to expanding coal imports from South Africa, French shipowners have on order at Japanese shipyards five 140 000-ton bulk carriers worth R170-million.

When delivered by the end of this year these ships will spend most of their time hauling coal from Richards Bay to Western Europe.

This is reported by *Business Week* in a review of South Africa's growing coal export trade.

South African producers agree that fear of political repercussions might limit their potential market in the United States, says the journal.

"In Europe, too, the stigma of dealing in South African coal often requires that the fuel be distributed discreetly.

"For instance, Shell is in its 50-50 joint venture with Rand Mines, ships nearly 1-million tons a year from Rand Mines Kesteven mine. Although it is known that 1-million tons of this goes to France, hardly anyone knows the ultimate destination.

"Despite such problems, France is pleased with the arrangement and plans to expand its coal purchases. South Africa is already France's largest supplier outside the European Community, shipping 3 000 000 tons there in 1979."

*Business Week* says that the three European oil majors — Shell, BP and Total — have shares in nearly 60% of South Africa's coal-export sales.

By the time current expansion plans are completed in

1983, they will have spent R200-million on their share of joint-venture coal-mining projects.

It is cheaper for South African producers to ship coal to Gulf coast ports in bulk carriers than it is for US producers to carry coal by rail from Midwest mines to those ports.

The result is that South Africa is now shipping about 1-million tons of coal a year to south-eastern states.

About 500 000 tons is covered under a Rand Mines contract to supply a Gulf Power Company generating plant in Pensacola, Florida, through the port of Mobile.

"Rand Mines is also negotiating with Jacksonville Electric Authority. And beyond such direct deals, US coal brokers are trying to drum up new buyers."

## JAPAN CHALLENGES GERMANY FOR SOUTH AFRICAN MACHINE TOOL STAKE

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 18 Dec 80 p 19

[Article by Simon Willson]

[Text] BATTLE lines are being drawn for the contest among foreign exporters to supply the great South African machine tool re-equipment programme, and the principal combatants eyeing each other over the trenches seem to be West Germany and Japan.

It is a common prediction in industrial and engineering circles that some time in the next five years the precision-oriented end of South African industry will have to embark on a mammoth scheme to replace its ageing machine tools.

The economic upturn has stoked up demand for machined products and in the continuing shortage of sufficient skilled manpower to meet the demand, industry is turning to mechanisation to deliver the goods.

Existing machinery, however, has been caught short of capacity by the upswing, with the result that the demand is unsatisfied and output is stuck at its pre-upturn levels.

This is turning out to be the excuse industrialists have been looking for to re-equip their shopfloors. They are in a better position to do this now than they have been since the early 1970s, and these few companies still short of liquid investment funds after a year of soaring sales can still rely on buoyant demand over the short to medium term to vindicate a large-scale decision to replace machine tools.

The exporters of the industrial West, not surprisingly, are elbowing each other in their attempts to cash in on the re-equipment programme.

Recession, compounded in some cases by firming domestic currencies, has all but dissolved machine tool markets in the developed industrial world, so manufacturers are looking south for markets.

While the start of the SA re-equipment programme is awaited, therefore, the West's leading machine tool exporters are jockeying for position to snap up the orders when they arrive.

Machine tool sales this year are expected to total about R200-million, of which SA production will account for about R30-million.

West Germany is the leading exporter to this country, with a provisional 28.4% of the imported machine tool market last year.

Germany has been top dog since 1975 when it took over from Britain whose exports fell during the last Western recession. Britain held a steady 17% of the market last year.

But the dark horse is Japan. From supplying only 6% of South Africa's machine tool imports in 1976, Japan supplied 16% last year. Japanese competitiveness and efficiency are boosting that country's machine tool exports at the right time to take advantage of our expected re-equipment programme.

With the British share of the market expected to remain static because the British supply many of the specialised industries which have a single source for their tooling, the Japanese are the main threat

to German supremacy in the mass-production sector of the market.

The German share of the machine tool market fell from 44% in 1977 to its 1979 level of 36%. The drop occurred when several large industrial projects which specified solely German machine tools, were completed and orders dried up.

Now more orders are being sought, but in the chilly draught of Oriental competition.

The South African-German Chamber of Trade and Industry acknowledges the Japanese threat to its share of the South African machine tool market.

It says in its economic report that some Japanese machine tool manufacturers can supply lathes for about R60 less than equivalent German products.

But the chamber says the traditional factors which have given Japanese products such an advantage over Western manufacturers may be disappearing.

One reason (for Japanese advantage) which might change in the future is the lower salaries. It is expected that Japan will also suffer in the future from pressure of their labour force for better pay and higher social contributions.

No such pressure from the Japanese labour force has been evident, however, in the other industries in which they undercut the West — like textiles, shipbuilding and electronics — and this might be wishful thinking by the chamber.

But if mass-production techniques and co-operative workers give the Japanese an advantage in the coming battle for our machine tool market, the Germans also have a few things going for them.

They have the track record of having had their products specified for various projects, such as the Atlantic diesel engine plant, and are the "incumbent" producers who have to be replaced, and have the largest market share.

The rand has risen against the mark for most of the second half of this year as Germany has slid into recession, having a favourable influence on import prices for South African firms.

The continuing extraordinary strength of sterling would seem to rule out any great inroads by British machine tools and the market shares of Italy, Switzerland and the United States are too small to act as springboards for a sizable grab when orders arise.

CSO: 4420

## GOVERNMENT QUIET ABOUT R311-M TAIWAN DEAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Jan 81 p 15

[Article by Daan De Kock]

**(Text)** MYSTERY surrounds the announcement that the Taiwan Metal Mining Corporation is planning to invest R311-million in a joint venture with South African mining companies to establish plants for refining copper and zinc in this country.

According to a statement released on Monday the investment plan was proposed to Dr W F de Klerk, South African Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, during his visit to Taiwan last week.

According to an initial plan for the joint venture, the company will construct a plant for copper and for zinc refining at a cost of R26-million and R285-million in South Africa. After completion the annual production of the two plants will be respectively 50 000 and 80 000 tons, of which the largest part will be shipped to Taiwan.

Most of the big mining companies approached by The Citizen said they knew

nothing about the whole venture. They pointed out that there is a shortage of zinc concentrate in South Africa at present and that Zincor, the joint smelting venture between Iscor and GFSA, has to import concentrate from time to time to meet the domestic demand for zinc.

Informed sources said that the most likely place to erect such smelters would be at the GFSA and Phelps Dodge concern at Black Mountain near Aggeneys in Namaqualand. GFSA and its associated company Vogelstruisbult Metal Holdings have the controlling interest in this venture. The rest of the equity is in the hands of Phelps Dodge, the American base metals company.

Ore reserves at the Black Mountain project were estimated at 300-million tons at the time the project was announced. Of this 38-million tons of ore were immediately and economically available. The deposit holds copper at a grade of 0.45 percent, lead at 0.635

percent, zinc at 0.287 percent, and silver at 0.06 percent.

It was estimated that when the mine came into production last year it could mill 1 125 000 tons a year and produce 132 000 tons of lead concentrates, 22 000 tons of copper and 35 000 tons of zinc concentrates. This is, of course, far less than the capacity mentioned for the new zinc smelter. It is, however, not ruled out that the mine could step up its production considerably by concentrating on deposits with a higher zinc value.

A spokesman at GFSA did not want to comment on the possibility that the company could be involved in the new project.

Another possibility mentioned was that Anglo American could open up a brand new mine in the Gamsberg-area to supply the concentrate.

Commentators suggested that the smelters could be put up at Saldanah, the zinc concentrate from Black Mountain going straight to the smelters, instead of to Zincor.

## EXTENSIVE USE OF LASERS IN MINING REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Jan 81 p 19

[Article by Errol Mannin]

(Text) LASERS, liberally used in inter-galactic science fiction warfare pictures, are similarly being used extensively in South African mines. Low energy lasers, quite harmless but very effective, help surveying and actual mining operations in gold, coal and base mineral mines.

Western Deep Levels is now using ruby-red laser beams to speed up various mining operations. One of the laser units is used in conjunction with a rangefinder in order to establish accurately the position of blockages in ore passes.

Ore pass blockages are a fairly regular occurrence in mining operations and have to be blasted clear. Previous methods of measuring the distance to the blockage from the end of a narrow and totally dark ore pass have been difficult and time-consuming.

With a laser unit it is possible to focus a distance meter accurately on the blockage, which can then be blasted with a minimum of explosives.

Another laser is used to eliminate continuous marking-out and measuring-off when establishing grade lines for development.

Other lasers are used at WDL to line up damaged shaft guides, and this method is considered a time-saver over other guide adjustment procedures.

In local coal mines lasers are used for accurately directing continuous miners as they move forward during coal-cutting operations.

The laser was also used recently in constructing the tallest structure in Africa — the 301 m high, 27.5 m diameter Sasol III chimney. Here 20 000<sup>3</sup> of concrete and 2 500 000 bricks were placed and laser beams used to keep the enormous structure plumb.



## SCHWARZ BACKS VERLIGTE ADDITION TO SABC

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 8 Jan 81 p 3

[Text] Cape Town.—At least two of the three new members of the SABC board are "competent verligtes" whose appointments are in line with the Prime Minister's reformist political initiatives, says Mr Harry Schwarz, Progressive Federal Party MP for Yeoville.

The three new members are: Dr Dawid de Villiers, chairman of Sasol and a director of Nasionale Pers; Dr Chris van Wyk, a director of the Trust Bank; and Mr Daantjie Malan, a Johannesburg city councillor.

"I don't know Mr Malan, but the other two men are quite clearly P W Botha men," said Mr Schwarz. "However, it is quite natural for a man who assumes political power to appoint people with similar political views to influential positions."

Observers believe the new appointments follow a common pattern in which prominent verligtes known to favour Mr Botha's reformist initiatives are replacing verkrampte elements in key positions.

They point to the naming of Professor Wynand Mouton, a former Rector of the University of the Orange Free State, as chairman of the SABC board in place of Dr Piet Meyer.

Another prominent verligte in the Botha mould is Professor Sampie Terreblanche, professor of economics at the University of Stellenbosch and a member of the Theron Commission.

Prof Terreblanche, who was appointed to the SABC board in 1972, has called for a "limited form of democratic power-sharing", and has consistently argued for the removal of laws which restrict black enterprise and participation in the capitalist system.

Commenting on the new appointments, Mr Schwarz said that he considered Dr De Villiers and Dr Van Wyk "very competent and able people". But he criticised the fact that the composition of the board did not reflect the entire South African population.

"I would have liked to have seen the appointment of black people to the board, because the SABC caters for all South Africans," he said.

However, the PFP MPC for Parktown, Mr Joel Mervis, said: "Assuming there are such things as verligte Botha men, I doubt whether the new appointees will make any difference at all to the policy and methods of the SABC."

## NATIONAL ECONOMIC PROSPERITY, GROWTH FORECAST

Johannesburg BUSINESS TIMES in English 4 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by Elizabeth Rouse]

[Text] SOUTH Africa, although expecting a slowdown in economic growth this year because of dicey prospects for its main trading partners, will still be a world growth leader.

Given a growth rate of 5%, South Africa's gross domestic product, which was running at an annual rate of R20 000-million in the third quarter of 1980, could rise to an annual rate of R29 000-million.

The projected 1981 figure reflects the rise in money terms in the GDP, based on a 5% real growth plus 1% inflation.

Although this spells a considerable slowdown in South Africa's boom, the picture is still bright seen against gloomy predictions for world economies.

According to the International Monetary Fund's latest annual report the possibility of a total international recession cannot be excluded.

The IMF predicts that real economic growth in the free industrialised countries in 1980 and 1981 will amount to no more than 1% a year, as against a growth rate of 3.5% in those countries in 1979.

According to the IMF, oil-price increases will lead to combined deficits of about \$85 000-million on the foreign trade and services accounts of the industrialised countries for 1980. On the other hand, oil-producing countries (Opec) will record a surplus of \$110 000-million.

The outlook is that in 1981 the balance-of-payments deficits of industrialised countries will decline, but will still be large.

Seen against this background, Finance Minister Owen Horwood appears to be the

most optimistic about economic growth, having put South Africa's growth rate as high as 6%.

Major banks' economists are more cautious about prospects, and estimates range from a conservative 4% from Volkskas, 5% from Barclays and 5.4% from Standard Bank and the Stellenbosch BER.

Mr Horwood has warned that the inflation rate, currently above 14%, will continue to be a threat. Volkskas puts the inflation rate at 14.5%, hence its caution on growth.

The gold price being so imponderable — although the experts do not expect a drop below \$350 and the Government will probably keep policy on a conservative gold price — estimates of the deficit on current account differ widely.

Barclays, taking an average gold price of \$314 (which looks over-optimistic now), calculates that the deficit will be R1 425-million against 1980's surplus of R3 600-million.

The BER's estimate is a deficit of R1 200-million, based on an average gold price of \$300. Standard expects a deficit of R500-million on a gold price of \$319, while Volkskas, using a gold price of \$320 as a base, finds a small surplus of R400-million.

The experts are also divided about non-gold exports, the other vital factor in South Africa's economic growth chances this year.

Predictions range from a 15% growth in value (which would mean a virtual standstill in volume terms) from Volkskas, 14.5% from Standard, 10.7% from Barclays and 5.1% from the BER (which would

mean a noticeable drop in volume terms).

The import growth rate will decline from 1980's 6% to an estimated growth of between 3.5% and 3.1%, according to the experts' projections.

All projections have been based on expected performances of global economies, so one must assume that the picture does not turn out to be darker than expected for South Africa's trading partners.

Roughly 75% of all trade in the world originates in the free world while about 60% of South Africa's foreign trade is divided between the US, Britain, West Germany and Japan.

According to the Volkskas economic experts, the most the US could achieve this year would be a 1.5% growth rate. The US economic downturn could be arrested or slowed in the first half of the year, followed by a slow recovery in the second half.

In Britain no increase in economic activity worth mentioning can be expected before the end of 1981. The recession will be at its worst in early 1981 after an expected fall of more than 2% in Britain's real gross national product in 1980.

Recessionary tendencies are also growing stronger in West

Germany and it is expected that this deceleration in economic growth will continue for a considerable time, to the extent that West Germany's economic activity may show no increase this year. Matters may improve slightly by the end of 1981.

Japan's growth rate should remain higher than the population growth. Real economic

growth rate will still remain positive — 4.8% for 1980 and roughly 3.5% this year (Japan's historic growth rate amounts to nearly 8%.)

Volkmann has also found that recessionary conditions in industrialized countries are far more synchronized than has been anticipated up to now — a situation which will aggravate the detrimental impact on world trade.

Most important causes are the erosion in real disposable income and stricter economic measures to combat inflation, inventory levels which are increasing more slowly and could fall, and a weakening in demand for exports.

Volkmann says that at this stage indications are that recessionary conditions in Western Europe and Japan have been at their worst in the second half of 1980 and will continue into 1981.

After that, a lateral movement in business activity is foreseen which could change to a fair acceleration from low production and export levels around the end of 1981.

CSO: 4420

## GOLDS, INDUSTRIALS TOPS IN 1980

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Jan 81 pp 1, 3

[Text] SOUTH African gold and industrial shares were the third and sixth most lucrative investments in major equity markets in 1980.

Gold yielded an overall capital gain of about 63% for investors while industrials showed a gain of about 34%.

A UK investor could have turned £1 000 invested in South African gold at the beginning of 1980, into £1 721 at the end of the year. A similar investment in South African industrials would have grown into £1 411, according to an Investors Chronicle survey.

The gains recorded in Johannesburg reached UK residents with slight magnification. Sterling finished slightly lower against the rand, and in addition there was a reduction from 27.25% to 25.5% in the discount on the financial rand, the currency used by foreigners for investing in South Africa.

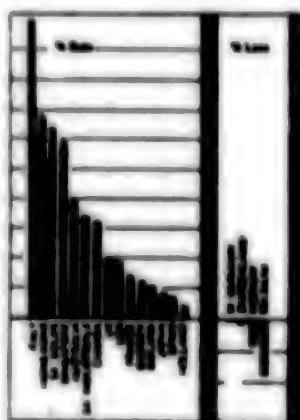
Main reason for the South African bull market was the on-balance 21% rise in the gold price, which lured investors from the US, UK and the Continent.

In dollar terms the JSE's turnover nearly doubled to \$10 000-million — a figure which impresses even US analysts. But both UK and US world market analysts have turned distinctly bearish about South African shares.

JSE share prices had slipped by 15% at the end of the year from their September highs, and so far Diagonal Street is struggling to make headway.

For most of the year motor stocks paced the market and gold mines showed strong growth. But now there are worries on both fronts and, says one analyst, "the outlook is not encouraging".

Dealers fear that industrials could be off by as much as 25% in 1981 due to high interest



Leaders and laggards on the world stock markets

rates and slowing economic growth. And there are mixed predictions for gold.

Pessimists predominate — speculating that the price of gold will drop below \$400, which would knock the bottom out of high-cost, low-yield producers such as Randfontein.

But some optimists predict that the opposite will happen and other analysts are expecting a huge flow of funds from institutions into the market during the next 12 months.

In sum, the optimists are reasonably confident that they'll have a good year, but they're by no means complacent.

Leader of the pack in 1980 was Italy, where the overall market index climbed by an incredible 100.6%. Reason for this extraordinary performance was the social violence and economic chaos, which drove Italians into the share market as a protection against uncertainty and inflation after a long spell of disbelief in shares.

Hong Kong's four stock markets spurted ahead, prompted

by a booming property market and cash from abroad. The Hang Seng index climbed to dizzying heights, and although it has slipped from the November high it ended the year up 70%.

Now market analysts are predicting that business executives and Hong Kong housewives alike will continue to pour their savings into the market.

Singapore lived up to its old name of emporium of the East and the market showed a gain of almost 60%. Chances are that Singapore, because of its balanced economic policy, will remain a good investment centre.

The Australian election came out the right way for stock markets and Sydney could well improve on its overall advance of 40% in 1980. The Sydney All-Ordinaries index climbed above the 1 000 level for the first time in its history.

With the promise of a stable economy, a strong currency and a continuing flow of fat profits from companies processing Australia's vast mineral wealth, prospects for a prosperous 1981 look excellent, say analysts.

Canada, a rival for South African industrials last year, is being checked by worries over political problems, including the possibility of conflict between Alberta and Ottawa. However, the Government's interest in oil discoveries in federal territories might improve the outlook.

London managed a rally of almost 20% in the face of a postwar unemployment record of 2-million and a 4% fall in industrial production. This year's outlook remains clouded by high US interest rates and the prospect that spreading recession in Europe or a US

"double-dip" could further damage Britain's economy.

But if Margaret Thatcher's policies finally brake inflation to 10% by mid-year, late 1981 could, in one analyst's view, see a rally taking equities to new ground.

On Wall Street it was the best year since 1978, with trading volume on the New York Stock Exchange soaring to record heights and the Dow Jones industrial index picking up 15%.

Wall Street analysts are generally upbeat about prospects and forecast the Dow Jones index climbing as high as 1,100, as Reagan's promised tax cuts will benefit both corporations and individuals.

CSO: 4420

## ROTHSCHILD BACKING FOR EAST RAND MINE REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by John Spira]

[Text] IN A bold display of confidence in South Africa and gold, the mighty Rothschild banking empire is to throw its weight behind the development of what will be virtually a new gold mine on the East Rand.

It is to be part of a British consortium which will underwrite the R10-million rights to be announced by Government Gold Mining Areas (GGMA) this week.

The right issue is the first major issue of a South African company (outside those controlled by the mining houses) to have been underwritten from London.

Business Times sources in London reveal that the Rothschild group is hoping that a large body of GGMA shareholders will refrain from taking up their rights, thereby allowing Rothschild to acquire a significant stake in the mine — an aim which will be facilitated through an agreement whereby certain major shareholders will not follow all or part of their rights entitlements.

In an announcement yesterday, GGMA stated that London stockbrokers Laing & Crutchfield will underwrite the rights issue. However, it is understood that the firm is merely acting as a front for a number of British institutions, among them Rothschild and the financial giant Jave & Pomeroy.

Leonard Pomeroy, managing director of GGMA, was not available for comment.

The underwriting agreement has far-reaching consequences — not only for GGMA but for

South Randfontein (Mr Pomeroy is a other JSE-listed gold share), since it is likely that in due course a similar arrangement will emerge for this mine too.

The Rothschild link also suggests that the Pomeroy group companies will have a ready and willing source of future additional funds should such funds be required for existing or new developments.

The rights issue, which is on a 40-for-100 ratio at 50c, will

have the effect of transforming GGMA from a cash-strapped, low-income mine into a long-life, medium-sized operation treating about 120 000 tons of ore a month by 1984.

The R10-million to be raised by the rights issue represents only 5% of GGMA's capital expenditure programme for the next five years. The remaining R19-million is expected to be generated from retained cash flows.

The expansion programme is expected to provide employment for between 4 000 and 5 000.

GGMA ceased mining operations in May 1978. During the 52 years prior to this time, it mined about 81-million tons of ore at average grade of 7 g/t, the vast majority of which was gleaned from the Main Reef Leader and the Black Reef.

But, while the Main Reef Leader has been largely mined out, large tonnages still exist in the Kimberley, Black, Bird and Main Reefs — all of which are situated at relatively shallow depths.

According to consulting mining engineers Karpas Mining, GGMA has 1.9-million tons of mineable reserves (average grade 4.2 g/t), which could,

over a period, produce a total working profit of R11.4-million at a gold price of 6000. Further, the surface material could contribute R14-million to working profit.

Proven underground ore reserves total 4.3-million tons at an average grade of 3.54 g/t, while proven, probable and possible reserves amount to 15-million tons at an average grade of 3.15 g/t.

Once the mine's R10-million expansion programme has been completed, GGMA expects that its net cash flow after tax and capital expenditure will be between R13-million and R15-million.

Based on an issued capital of R1.4-million shares (the probable capital as increased by the rights issue and the conversion of the GGMA preference shares), these projections translate into per-share figures of 51c and 70c respectively — statistics which are no doubt conservative and which obviously proved attractive to the Rothschild powers that be.

GGMA is to change its name to Consolidated Middelbush Mining (CMM) and its JSE listing will be transferred from the property sector to the Witwatersrand gold category.



## UPC SCORED ON RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTIES

Kampala THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jan 81 pp 3, 4

[Editorial: "Is Reconciliation a Sham?"]

[Text] DR. OBOYE might find it a difficult task to translate his talk about "reconciliation" and "No Revenge" from mere platitudes into positive actualities.

In the first place these two things have got to be defined and then a detailed policy must be given out as a guide-in order that people know exactly what is meant. When this is done the job will be half way completed. The next stage will be for Dr. Obote to re-educate and discipline his people in government and in UPC within the confinement of the definitions and policy of his "reconciliation" "No Revenge" ideals.

If, for example, at the moment a minister goes to a UPC rally and preaches disunity and tells the people how they wasted their votes by voting in a non-UPC, and how there is no role for the opposition and the same minister castigates people for having given their votes to a candidate of a different party then you know that the whole idea and talk about "reconciliation" is still a sham, if not a mere cover-up.

In many areas of the country UPC chairmen are taking over the powers and functions of the various authorities. They are dismissing or threatening to dismiss chiefs and they are unilaterally appointing new ones. They are threatening not to issue Trading licences to "people who do not support the UPC government". The allegations against chiefs are that they failed to work for UPC interests in the past, and they are not complying with the UPC policies now. These allegations are not backed by any thread of evidence. Moreover, the UPC policy on many issues is not yet out. So, the chiefs, like the general public, do not know just what to do at the moment

about very many things. In any case, there are various well known traditional authorities to which such matters as appointing or dismissing of chiefs, issuing licences and allocation of business premises should better be left.

Reports of widespread intimidations against people of parties other than UPC are still many in various parts of the country, evidence is abundant, if wanted. In many places other party leaders are being intimidated and people are not allowed to dress in their party colours, let alone to hold or attend public meetings by their respective parties.

Then, only last week, the Hon. Minister of Information and Broadcasting was reported as "getting tough against newspapers or certain publications" "fanning" what he described as "Sectarian interests". The Minister threatened a ban on many of them.

Such threats in the present day Uganda are amazing and only help to demoralize people, further and to erode their good will. Without defending certain publications, the populace of Uganda are psychologically turned to believe that they now have a government of laws and a government of people ready to respect, and to work within the confinements of those laws. Uganda has laws (and now has an acceptable machinery to make more, if need be) which govern all aspects of life and its activities in the country and which set the scope and limits of the actors in the various fields. Therefore, arbitrary banning of

publications by Ministers while possible and easy (it can just be made by a mere stroke of a pen) without specific charges being brought to court first against a named publication, when done it will be the first most blatant abuse of democracy and its attendant rights and freedoms since the restoration of democracy in Uganda this year and a set back against aspired for rule of law. Ugandans hate, and shudder at, the anticipation of such a move. The type of threat the Hon. Minister gave is not, of course new. It has been a common place thing since the demise of democratic principles in the land about 15 years ago. It is however, regrettable that just a few weeks after the Uganda people overwhelmingly opted for the resurrection of civilisation in Uganda such threats can still be voiced in total disregard of the laws of the country. Respect for the constitution and other laws of Uganda should be the pivot around which everything else rotates. We should first reconcile ourselves to human freedoms and to the laws protecting them.

## COMMENTARY ON DEALING WITH COUNTRY'S FRIENDS

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 2 Jan 81 p 4

[Editorial: "We Expect Our Friends To Treat Us Decently"]

[Text] Speaking to the Uganda National Liberation Army commanders on Wednesday, the President, Dr A. Milton Obote, noted that while there were some people in the international community who had been sympathetic to our difficult cause, there were also many others who had refused to appreciate that we had just charged from a destructive war situation. What the President meant was that if anyone was to be identified as a true friend of Uganda, he had come down to the basic realities of our war-ravaged situation before doing anything else.

The implications of the President's words are for both foreigners and Ugandans. All foreigners must understand that much as Ugandans are in deep difficulties now, there is a limit to which they can be forced against the wall to accept conditions which are disadvantageous to them. We shall expect our friends to understand this basic standpoint, for we have our national independence to protect. The going may be difficult but we shall have to accept it. And we shall appraise all our friends according to the manner in which they approach us.

For Ugandans the implications are more pertinent. The destiny of this nation is solely for us to shape. The building of Uganda will actually be done by the peasants, the workers and the youths of Uganda themselves. We may expect help from those in the outside world in this struggle, but in the final analysis everything will rest on our shoulders. And after all, as the President has said, there are many in the outside world who have not been ready to understand our problems. This is not surprising. It is only to be expected. The response that the Zimbabweans got from outsiders after they won their independence earlier last year should serve as an example to us. Many of those who had promised them millions before simply folded their arms and looked away.

This should serve as an important eye-opener. We are not struggling to rebuild our country's economy for anyone else. We are rebuilding it for ourselves and our children. And the nature of our struggle is even more demanding than it was when we got our independence. The conditions in the international situation are radically different now to what they were at the turn of the sixties. And to make it worse our country was ravaged by one of the most primitive forms of fascism for almost a decade.

The President explained that we could not hope to improve our situation without producing. Production is the basis of the acquisition of wealth. This is a universal economic fact which we cannot run away from. No one should expect that we shall be saved by any type of aid from outside countries. Of course if it is offered on terms agreeable to us then we shall be glad to make use of it. But this will just be an addition to our own basic and sizeable contribution. All Ugandans must wake up to this fact.

We expect all our friends abroad to specifically understand our problems. Just as they have their own national interests to protect we also have our own to protect. We have our own pride as a nation despite the problems we have suffered and continue to undergo. Much as we know that we are in a bad situation we shall expect any well-wisher to treat decently. And we shall take stock of our friends on these conditions.

C80: 4420

## AGREEMENT SIGNED FOR VARIOUS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 10 Jan 81 p 8

[Article by P. Jatho: "Odaka Signs Pack With UNDP"]

[Text] **THE** Uganda government and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) yesterday signed two project documents totalling 10,228,250/- (138m dollars).

The minister of planning and economic development, Mr Sam Odaka, signed on behalf of the government and Mrs Melissa Wells, resident representative of the UNDP and special representative of the secretary-general for relief operations in Uganda signed for the UNDP.

One of the projects — rehabilitation of agricultural marketing — is estimated to cost 658,100 dollars (4,888,700/-) with the main objective being the rehabilitation of the marketing mechanism of the agricultural sector and the restoration of the export position of the country relating to agricultural products.

The project will provide 488,000 dollars (3,442,500/-)

in expert services, 74,200 dollars (554,500/-) in training Ugandan nationals abroad 107,200 dollars (802,500/-) in equipment and miscellaneous expenditure.

The main recipient agency will be the ministry of cooperative and marketing.

The cost of the second project — external sector development — is estimated at 707,000 dollars (5,202,500/-) which will finance technical assistance to the ministry of commerce aimed at strengthening the overall coordination of foreign trade and planning activities, import policy and management, export policy and planning, trade statistics and commercial intelligence, transit transport, commodity distribution, import credits and trade and custom procedures.

The main input in this project is expert services estimated at 550,000 dollars (4,125,000/-) in addition to 50,000 dollars (375,000/-) for

training Ugandan nationals abroad and 124,000 dollars (930,000/-) for equipment and miscellaneous expenditures.

Wells briefed the Minister on the status of the ongoing projects and indicated that plans were underway to finalise three other project documents for signature within the next two weeks.

One of these projects — the rehabilitation of Mukina Biscuit Factory — is estimated to cost 395,000 dollars (2,982,500/-) while another is aimed at the rehabilitation of the Uganda electricity at an estimated cost of 397,000 dollars (2,977,500/-).

The third project introduces a new dimension in technical assistance to Uganda and aims at conducting a feasibility study in seven

different parts of Uganda including the West Nile region to determine the potential for rice growing.

This project which is estimated at 400,000 dollars (3,000,000/-) will be executed by the government of the People's Republic of China under UNDP's technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (TCDC), a new concept whereby projects will be financed by

UNDP but executed by developing countries which have the technical assistance capability necessary to ensure the successful implementation of technical assistance projects.

After the signing ceremony, Odaka emphasized the importance the government attached to the technical assistance expected from the UNDP in their efforts to accelerate the rehabilitation of Uganda's shattered economy.

He was now considering the priority areas in the government's overall strategy to develop the country's economy and in due course he would be advising the UNDP of these priority areas with the hope that quick approval would be given to the projects, he said.

CSO: 4420



CYPRUS PAPER ON SECURITY, ECONOMY SITUATION

Nicosia CYPRUS MAIL in English 25 Dec 80 p 2

[Article: "Obote's Chance to Reintroduce Law and Order in Uganda"]

[Text] Uganda's new President, Dr Milton Obote, is faced with rehabilitating a nation over which the shadow of Idi Amin hangs, despite his overthrow 20 months ago.

Under the Amin dictatorship, commercial agriculture and industry virtually ceased and there has been little improvement since he fled the country, with magendo (black market) emerging as the most vital element in the economy.

Three interim administrations since Amin was toppled have devoted most of their energy to political in-fighting and preparing for the election which last week made Dr Obote the first African leader ousted in a coup to regain power through the ballot box.

The security situation, in which a gun is more readily available than a loaf of bread has made foreign investors and aid agencies wary about returning to Uganda.

Inflation is rampant. Two fried eggs in a restaurant cost the equivalent of 12 U. S. dollars. Officially seven Uganda shillings equal one dollar, but on the black market the rate is 70 shillings to the dollar.

Most farmers adhere to the system they adopted under Amin's eight years of bloody, chaotic rule: growing enough food for their families with a little over to barter.

What food does find its way to the towns is extremely expensive and most people exist on the staple of matoke, cooked bananas.

The Obote administration has not yet announced its plans to rebuild the nation.

A Western diplomat said: "The first priority should be to build an atmosphere of confidence and show that the government means that it says about reconciliation, and bringing the country together.

The need for such an atmosphere applies particularly to Uganda's largest tribe, the Baganda, who live around Kampala and are deeply mistrustful of Dr Obote.

In 1963 Dr Obote ousted the Baganda king, the late Sir Edward Mutesa, from the Presidency and assumed the leadership himself. Dr Obote, now 55, was deposed by Idi Amin, his army commander, in 1971.

The Baganda support the Democratic Party (DP) which is the main opposition to Dr Obote's Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and many of them say they believe they were cheated of a DP victory at last week's election.

The DP has rejected the election results and called for a fresh poll under an independent commission. It alleges widespread gerrymandering, registration irregularities, intimidation of DP agents and the alteration of results in favour of the UPC.

Commonwealth observers who came to Uganda to monitor the voting said that apart from a few instances it was free and fair.

A diplomat said: "The government must demonstrate to the people that they have nothing to fear from a UPC government, especially in those areas that voted overwhelmingly against the UPC".

If this is not done the diplomats fear violent opposition to the government which would lead to harsh countermeasures.

Before he was overthrown in 1971 Dr Obote ruled under emergency powers, had banned the DP, jailed cabinet ministers and survived assassination attempt. The Baganda danced in the streets when he was ousted.

Two areas of Uganda are particularly crying out for the ministrations of a strong central government. They are West Nile in the North West and Karamoja in the North East.

Thousands died because of drought in Karamoja, where primitive tribesmen have had their cattle stolen by heavily armed raiders. The area is expected to take years to recover, even if the rains are regular.

The other stricken region is the tribal area where Amin was born. Ugandan troops were reported to have carried out harsh reprisals against the West Nile population after former members of Amin's army crossed into West Nile two months ago.

Aid agencies said half the 500,000 population have fled to neighbouring Sudan.

But there is some hope in signs that entrepreneurs and foreign governments may be willing to provide money and expertise for Uganda.

Two millionaire Asian families, Mehta and Madhvani, have already returned to try to rebuild the sugar and industrial empires Amin forced them to leave when he expelled 32,000 Asians in 1972.

The Canadian government has signed an agreement with Uganda to rehabilitate the country's only copper mine at Kilembe in West Uganda, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the European Common Market (EEC) have promised aid.

But economists say, Uganda has missed the most generous decade of aid-giving by the West because of Amin's excesses.

Development aid is now being cut back because of the worldwide recession, the economists say.

To create the atmosphere for economic development the Obote administration must also restore law and order. The most effective law-keeping force in Uganda at present are the 10,000 Tanzanian troops who remained after the defeat of Amin, but Tanzanian leader Julius Nyerere has made it clear he wants to pull them out.

In Kampala there is a 10 pm to 6 am curfew but residents scurry home at dusk and listen to sporadic gunshots and explosions which punctuate the night hours.

A diplomat said: "The government must get the troops off the streets and try to re-establish control over the army and the militia".

The army and militia are blamed for many crimes and are split into a number of factions.

Dr Obote is deeply indebted to President Nyerere, who provided a home and support in Dar es Salaam during the Uganda leader's eight years in exile. Dr Obote must now turn his efforts to cultivating good relations with neighbouring Kenya, which provides Uganda with its lifeline to the sea and Indian Ocean coast.

Speaking at Monday's swearing-in ceremony Dr Obote said Uganda had to learn from Tanzania, Zambia and Kenya, three states which had known prolonged political stability.

Dr Obote alienated many conservative Ugandans and foreign investors with his socialist policies when he was previously in power but during his election campaign he emphasised he would pursue moderate economic policies with the aim of salvaging Uganda's shattered economy.

CSO: 4420

GOVERNMENT PRAISED FOR STEPS TAKEN ON OIL

Kampala UGANDA TIMES in English 5 Jan 81 p 4

[Editorial: "Government's Steps on Oil"]

[Text] In an effort to curb the hoarding and smuggling of petrol, the government has just announced measures aimed at ensuring that all the petrol imported into the country is consumed within and not illegally re-exported. In this connection, a rationing system is from now on going to apply in the distribution of fuel. According to the system all vehicles other than diplomatic corps and government department ones are supposed to be registered and then issued with chits authorising them to get fuel at a particular petrol station. At the same time District Commissioners and others to be appointed upcountry will control the distribution of fuel in their areas and to check regularly the levels of the commodity at filling stations.

These measures come in the wake of apparent shortages of fuel all over the country which got speculating public vehicle owners trebling their fares and thus biting deep into the pockets of ordinary Ugandans. Taxi and private bus fares upcountry have spiralled within no time. And in Kampala, a taxi ride is now between 30 and 60 shillings. This has particularly hit office and factory workers who wait for one steady income at the end of the month. The conscientious ones have been trekking to duty on foot. Others have, however, decided to stay away from their places of work for days.

The increased transport rates have also affected the supply of food into towns adversely. As of now food in all markets is too expensive for the ordinary man to buy. And this is at a time when the supply of possible alternatives like rice and posho is not adequate. What has actually been happening is that people especially in towns have been holding on gnashing their teeth and hoping that the last straw they clutched on would not give way.

It is very heartening that the government has decided to step in and regulate the supply and distribution of fuel. This is a commodity which is so crucial to our economic development and social well-being and being so important it is also very costly. It has also been one of the more likely targets to be exploited by 'magendoists' to enrich themselves while making it difficult for the rest of Ugandans to live.

As revealed by the minister of power, posts and telecommunications, Mr Akena Ojok, the fuel bill bites deep into our foreign exchange. Until last week this

bill was 24 million shillings weekly. Now to streamline importation and ensure steady distribution, the government has increased this to 34 million shillings. This is a substantial increase in view of the weak productive capacity in our economy now and the low level of our foreign exchange reserves. But to enable things to keep moving in industries and in other socio-economic life, the government simply had to make this sacrifice.

It is our earnest hope that this sacrifice will not be missed. Oil is one item that has destabilised the economies of developing countries since the turn of the seventies when the OPEC countries decided to hike the commodity's prices. It has been taking so much of our foreign reserve expenditures yearly that we have failed to import the necessary capital and development goods to uplift economic production. Any fuel hoarded or smuggled out of the country leaves a big hole in our national treasury. We urgently call on all the government officials and the businessmen charged with distributing oil to ensure that malpractices are strictly discouraged. And if any are found out they should be treated as economic crimes and punished severely.

CSO: 4420



## CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON EFFORT TO UNITE NATION

London WEST AFRICA in English 22-29 Dec 80 p 2606

[Text] DECEMBER THE ELEVENTH was Independence Day in Upper Volta, and in a key speech to the nation, Colonel Saye Zerbo, the new leader, laid down the lines of his new programme, in a tone very reminiscent of that of a neighbouring leader, Col. Kountche of Niger. Meanwhile, the new government has started life with a series of popular measures aimed at gathering the support it will need for its pending conflict with the PDV-RDA — the former governing party whose leaders will probably be put on trial.

## Winning support of public

In his Independence Day speech, Col. Saye Zerbo announced the creation of a Commission of Enquiry into the late Third Republic which will include two trade union representatives. In contrast he laid great stress on national solidarity, very much in the manner of Col. Kountche, the need for sweat of the brow, sacrifice and patience. One of his major points was the lack of respect for authority in the country and particularly for the national flag and anthem. He went on to outline a development plan which emphasises the need for a new health programme and for nationally controlled pharmacies (at present 25 per cent of medicines are sold through state-controlled outlets). Some of the bitter strikes over the last few years in Upper Volta have been led by the health workers unions. He also spoke of the need to rethink the country's education programme: it was the teachers' strike which effectively brought down the government of General Lamizana. For the country's economic development he said that priority would be given to

self-sufficiency in food production rather than cash crops, while research into mining potential will be intensified.

This new programme ties in with a series of gestures since the coup, aimed at winning the confidence of the public. These have been well received. A bad harvest is being painted as a disastrous one and Col. Saye Zerbo has taken a personal interest in ensuring that food aid is swiftly and efficiently sent to those areas in need. The teachers who were on strike for 57 days have been told that they will be paid for that period. And to everybody's surprise, the two major complaints of the striking teachers have also been satisfied: the four relatives of the ex-Minister of Education (having supposedly won a national examination for a course in Paris) have been ordered back to their posts in Paris; the two militants of the teachers' union, SNEAHV, who the teachers' unions claim were transferred from their posts because of their involvement in past strikes, have been returned to their original posts.

While carrying out these measures, designed to attract public support, the new military rulers have been consolidating their hold on the country. As expected, they kept all the key positions in the government for officers, while the civilians who have been brought in to take charge of other ministries are all technicians, rather than politicians. The new Minister for the Public Service (Fonction Publique), for example, is a lecturer in International Law at the University of Ouagadougou, while the new female Ministre des Affaires Sociales et de la Condition Feminine is a dentist from Bonc Bobo-Dioulasso. All seem to be political unknowns, although they have the reputation of being competent in their own fields.



In his speech, Col. Saye Zerbo also laid great stress on the campaign against corruption. Most official service vehicles have been impounded while their allocation and use is reviewed. Meanwhile, the President and his colleagues are driving around Ouagadougou in a Renault 16 and a battered Toyota, rather than in Lamizana's presidential black Mercedes-Benz. Talk about corruption is increasingly linked with revelations about arms caches throughout the country. These were allegedly intended for the arming of a PDV-RDA militia to ensure their continued domination of the system and perhaps the establishment of a one-party state. Shortly after the coup d'état it was reported that all containers entering the country were being searched following the discovery of the arms dumps. The accusations will presumably be made more specific at the expected trials of the PDV-RDA leaders, who are still being held in the military camp on the western outskirts of Ouagadougou.

## Swift and efficient plans

A curfew was still in operation a week ago throughout the country, and the Military Committee and Government continued to receive messages of support from all over the country. These are read over the radio and published in *L'Observateur*. The committee and government are also receiving innumerable delegations from the minor officials and interest groups from all over the country. At one such meeting, the worried prefect of Ouagadougou wanted to know what he should do with the photographs of Lamizana decorating official walls. Use your initiative, said Col. Saye Zerbo.

Stating firmly that he is looking for "la vraie démocratie", President Zerbo shows every sign of making swift and efficient plans to bring this about. But his real problem will still be the one that Lamizana could not solve; how to transform a tiny national budget which can do no more than pay civil servants' salaries into a budget which can invest in the country's development.

ZAIRE

BRIEFS

MOBUTO HOUSE DAMAGED--Brussels, Wednesday. Demonstrators ransacked the house of the governor of Zaire's Sakai province following the arrest of 13 national assembly members, including five from Kasai, at the end of December, the Belgian daily LIBRE BELGIQUE reported today. The newspaper said the arrests, on charges of subversive activities, inciting revolt and insulting President Mobutu Sese Seko, had created considerable tension in Mbuji Mai, Kasai's diamond city, and the demonstrators had also damaged a house belonging to General Mobutu. The 13 assembly members had signed a 51-page documents attacking President Mobutu. Four of the detained men are to be tried by a special state security court, while the others will be tried in ordinary courts.--Zana/AFP. [Text] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 8 Jan 81 p 1]

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